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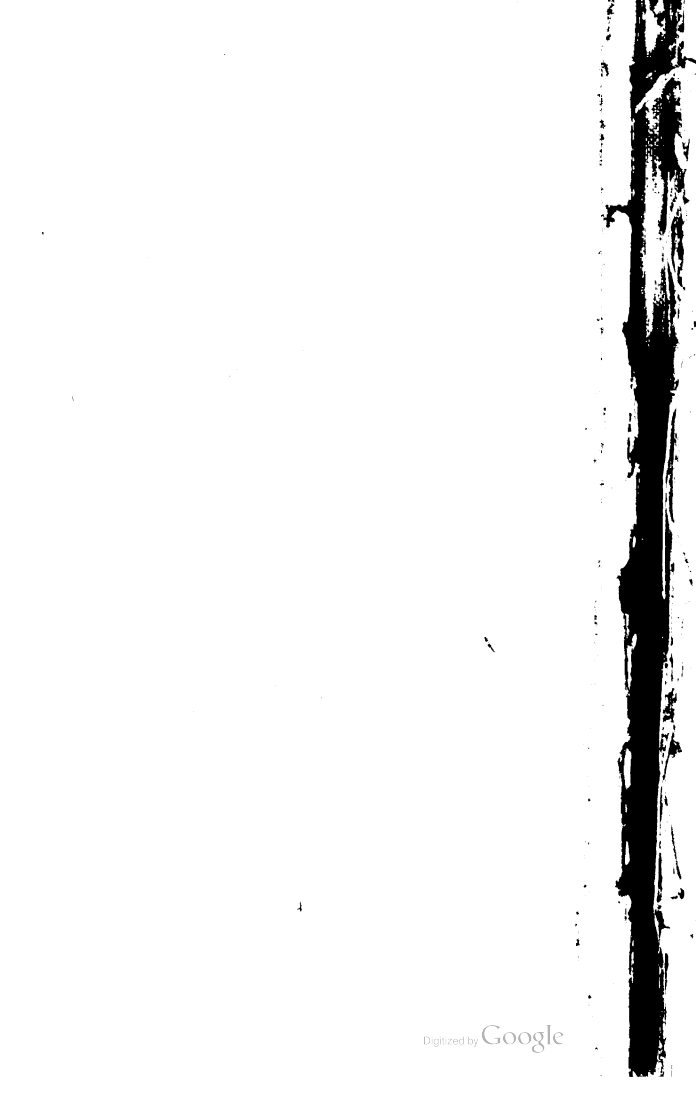
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UNCAS

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UNCAS

AND

MIANTONOMOH;

A

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED

AT NORWICH, (CONN.,) ON THE FOURTH DAY OF JULY, 1842, ON THE OCCASION OF THE ERECTION OF A MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF

UNCAS,

THE WHITE MAN'S FRIEND, AND FIRST CHIEF OF THE MOHEGANS.

BY WILLIAM L. STONE,

Author of the "Life of Brant," "Life and Times of Red Jacket," &c. &c.

NEW YORK:

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UNIV OF CALIFORNIA

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TO

THE LADIES OF THE CITY OF NORWICH,

THIS DISCOURSE IS

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY THEIR FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

THE Indian name of UNCAS is far more familiar to the readers of fiction, than to those of veritable history, or even to the student of the early chronicles of New England. Its original possessor, so far as history informs us, was the bold and warlike chief of a powerful community of Indians, occupying a large portion of the territory now forming the State of Connecticut, when the Pilgrims began to plant themselves in that region. He was the white man's friend, at a period when the friendship even of savage royalty was most welcome. To his fidelity the early planters of Connecticut were brought under obligations that have been but ill-requited to his house and his race.

For upward of one hundred and sixty years, his remains have been reposing in what has been called "the royal burying-ground" of the Mohegans, situated upon the western margin of the plain upon which stands the old town of Norwich. The locality of this burying-ground, which was appropriated exclusively to the Uncas family by the Indians, and retained for that purpose in subsequent sales of their territory, is romantic and beautiful; evincing both the taste and sentiment of those who se-

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ected and consecrated it for that object. It overlooks, at an elevation of some two hundred feet, the sweet basin of the Yantic river, at the distance of a mile, perhaps, above the junction of that stream with the Shetucket, and but a short distance from the falls of the former.

A grove of wild forest trees, by its deep foliage, imparts a subdued and pensive mellowness to the light, and a deep ravine descending to the river discloses the path by which the Mohegans, after paddling their canoes across the bright waters of the bay, in solemn state ascended with their dead to the place of sepulture. The falls or cataract just referred to, being a remarkably wild and curious conformation of rocks, through a narrow chasm of which the stream rushes in a succession of impetuous leaps,—now falling in an unbroken torrent, and now dashing into foam in its descent over fragments of pointed rocks,—adds essentially to the interest of the landscape. In the immediate vicinity of the falls the scenery is sublime; and when the stream is swollen by dissolving snows or protracted rains, the sound of its waters is heard in the burying-ground like the subdued bass of the ocean.

Such is a description, though brief and inadequate, of the royal burying-ground of the house of Uncas. It has been safely guarded from the woodman's axe, from the day when the colony was first planted until the present; and by none with more watchful care than by the late possessor of the estate to which it has long been attached —the Hon. Calvin Goddard.

In view of the character of Uncas, and the important services which he rendered to the first generation of the planters of Norwich, the idea has long been entertained

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of marking the romantic spot in which he sleeps, by a monument that should perpetuate his name. The first step toward the accomplishment of the object was taken in the summer of 1833, during a visit to Norwich by General Andrew Jackson, then President of the United States, who assisted in laying a corner stone. On that occasion an address was pronounced extemporaneously by General Cass, Secretary at War. There being, however, no funds provided for the immediate prosecution of the work, nothing farther was done until the autumn of the year 1840, when the ladies of Norwich, with a spirit of generous patriotism characteristic of the sex, took the matter in hand, raised the necessary funds, and, on the 4th day of July, 1842, caused a granite obelisk, of respectable height and proportions, to be reared upon the chieftain's grave, bearing the simple inscription, in relief,—UNCAS.

In anticipation of the ceremony of raising this monument, the ladies engaged in the undertaking did me the honor to request the delivery of a discourse upon the occasion. The desire of the ladies was first made known to me by Judge Goddard—*clarum et venerabile nomen!*—but little did I imagine, when acceding to the request, that my excellent friend would himself be sleeping in kindred dust with Uncas, before the execution of my task!

In bringing these remarks to a close, it is proper to observe that the author had no idea, when he accepted the appointment, that the essay he might attempt would extend to the dimensions even of a pocket volume. At most, he meditated nothing farther than a historical sketch of half or three quarters of an hour. But, on

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entering upon the preliminary work of research, he soon discovered that he was exploring a mine rich both in historical and biographical incident, and the labor was pursued as a pleasant relaxation from the business hours of an arduous profession, until the following sheets were written.

Exclusive of the notes and appendix, the greater portion of the discourse was delivered at the monument, at the time designated, to a large concourse of people. Many of those who heard it have urged its publication; and there may, perhaps, be others desirous of reviewing their studies of that era of the early history of New England presented in the following pages, as well as of becoming acquainted with the life and character of the *real* Uncas.

W. L. S.

New York, September, 1842.

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DISCOURSE.

"What song the Sirens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture. What time the persons of these ossuaries entered the famous nations of the dead, and slept with princes and counsellors, might admit a wide solution. But who were the proprietors of these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question above antiquarism,—not to be resolved by man, nor easily, perhaps, by spirits." Thus discoursed Sir Thomas Browne, who has been designated "the laureate of the King of Terrors," in the sublime and fearful essay upon "Hydriotaphia, or Urn Burial," which he was inspired to write by the discovery of the celebrated Urns, "in a field of Old Walsingham," more than two hundred years ago. Fortunately for the day and the occasion, no such mystery hangs over the

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bones so quietly reposing in yonder humble chambers of the house of ages. That romantic spot is consecrated ground. We may there tread upon the dust of kings. How long was their line we cannot tell, or what were their earlier deeds, or their triumphs. Farther back than two hundred and fifty years, even the Muse of History has no scroll to unroll. Beyond that land-mark of time, America herself "was one great antiquity," buried in the darkness of more than five thousand years.

I have said that we were treading upon the ashes of kings. True indeed it is, that the royal title was unknown in their own imperfect nomenclature. But in their rank, their order of descent, the character of the office, and the manner of exercising their power, they were SOVEREIGNS; and their chief Sachems, to all intents and purposes, KINGS. And thus they were styled by the writers nearest their own times. Rude kings they were, it is true,—kings who revelled not in voluptuousness, nor wasted their time amidst the delights of the harem, like a Moslem Prince; nor degraded their manhood by ply-

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ing the bobbin, or wielding the distaff, like Sardanapalus. Nor yet were they of those who sought immortality by rearing cities, and palaces, and massive walls, and solemn temples, like those of Thebes, and Babylon, and Alexandria. "They affected not the graves of giants, under hilly and heavy coverings," nor yet sought to mark the age of their glory by the stupendous pyramid, or the costly mausoleum. But of a far different race were the sons of the forests, where now stand the bright cities and villages of New England. They were not of the common order of men, but a race, proud and haughty,—whose persons and characteristics were of mingled grandeur and gloom,—and who, like the Fairies and Fates of the Greek mythology, seemed born amid the convulsion of the elements, of cloud and storm. And yet, their lives of turbulence ended, they were content that their bones should lie soft beneath the sod, in calm seclusion upon the sweet bank of their own Yantic, as though lulled to repose by the ceaseless music of the neighboring waterfall.*

* The Falls of the Yantic, briefly described in the Preface, are so near that when the flood is high, the sound can be distinctly heard from the Monument.

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To honor the memory of one of these we have this day assembled. "The custom of showing respect to the dead by funeral solemnities and sepulchral honors, is the growth of no particular country, confined to no age: it has prevailed as far as the human race extended, and may be traced through every succeeding period of the history of man. If it had its origin in the simplicity and rudeness of primitive times, it is dignified in its maturity by the practice of the most polished nations. Nor has it been admitted only as an inoffensive relic of ancient superstition; but has long been avowedly sanctioned by the legislative power, and adopted as the most suitable medium for the expression of public gratitude."* But the bestowment of such honors to the departed,—to those who have been long retired "beyond the reach of obloquy or applause"—has been regarded, I know, "as an idle pageantry, unworthy of a cultivated age, and suited only to the childish sensibilities of uncivilized life," even by those who would not object to assigning like honors to the recently dead. The objection is nei-

* Oxford Prize Essays—1st Essay, vol. iii.

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ther sound nor philosophical. On the contrary, the rearing of monuments, in honor of the illustrious dead of years long past, is hallowed by the example of all civilized nations in all antecedent time, and justified by every impulse of patriotism, as it is also sanctioned by the yet holier feelings of the human breast. True, indeed, it may be asked, as was long ago demanded by Sir Thomas Browne, "Who cares to submit like Hippocrates's patients, or Achilles' horses in Homer, under naked nominations, without deserts, or noble acts, which are the balsam of our memories, and the soul of our subsistences?" Yet it may be asked in reply, Who so poor in spirit as not to desire to live in the memory of his friends, if not of his country, after he shall have "shuffled off this mortal coil?" And who, on the bed of death, that does not dwell with melancholy pleasure upon the thought that he may not only be wept but honored by the sympathising friends whom he may leave behind? At the same time, in the language of my favorite Sir Thomas Browne, notwithstanding this universal desire for after-remembrance, "it is vain that individuals hope for

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immortality, or any patent from oblivion, in preservations below the moon. The greater part must be content to be as though they had not been, to be found in the register of God, not in the record of man. Twenty-seven names make up the story of the world before the flood, and the recorded names eve since contain not one living century." That number, however, has been largely increased since the noble treatise thus again quoted was written; and among the names which a just American historian cannot suffer to be lost, is that of UNCAS.* And although with the race to which he belonged it is now too late to

* There is often a difficulty in fixing the orthography of Indian names. This difficulty arises from several causes. The Indian Sachems were in the habit of changing their names, at their dances and festivals, on special occasions. Having no written language themselves, different writers respecting them, often wrote their names differently, according to the sounds they caught. Again the same writers, from carelessness, not unfrequently designated the same chiefs differently at different times. Hence the name of Uncas has been written variously as follows:—*Okase, Onkos, Onkus, Okoko, Vncas, Unkuss, Unkowa, Poquiam, Unquase, Unkas,* UNCAS. I have chosen the latter form, as predominating in history.

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excite the emulation either of his courage or his fidelity, by the shaft of granite we are about to rear; yet ere it crumbles away beneath the hand of that fell destroyer which "makes pyramids pillars of snow, and all that's past a moment," the youth of many generations, even of the Anglo-Saxon race, may find it not unprofitable to spend an occasional hour in contemplating those high qualities which prompted their mothers to provide this monument in honor of a savage chieftain whose name has thus been rescued from "the iniquity of oblivion."

How little thought the poor Indian, who, in the singleness of his heart, and the innate benevolence of his nature, met the famishing Pilgrims at Plymouth, with the proffer of an ear of corn—the greatest luxury of his lodge—of the mighty influence which the presence of the shivering stranger was to exert upon the destiny of his own proud race? How little, in the spring of 1621, when Samoset and Squanto, or Ti-squantum, in the broken dialect which they had previously acquired from some straggling mariners who had been shipwrecked upon the coast while engaged in

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fishing, saluted a small party of the enfeebled planters with the cheering words,—"Welcome, Englishmen!"—how little, I repeat, did those children of the forest suppose that the years were drawing nigh, when the multitudinous nations of their own people were to disappear before the descendants of that little group, wasted by famine and reduced to a handful by pestilence, which stood like a company of living skeletons before them; and that the entire extirpation of their race, would so shortly afford "a subject of affecting contemplation to the man of feeling, and of curious investigation to the philosopher?"

But such has been the design of an all-wise Providence—a design which the strong faith of the Puritans enabled them to foresee. Looking upon themselves as the peculiar people,—the chosen of God,—driven as it were from another Egypt—the new world rose before them as the land of promise, to which the blazing star that illumined the western sky in the year 1619 was sent to guide them, like another pillar of fire.* The

* "The disappearing of the blazing star in the west, in the year 1619, the observation of which toward the

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eye of faith also enabled them to discover other sources of encouragement, after their landing, from what they esteemed the particular interpositions of Providence in their behalf. Their original destination had been for the shores of the Hudson River, in the interior of what was then an infant colony of the Dutch. Their landing at Plymouth was caused by accident, and a stress of weather.* Few,

west made Mr. Brigges, that famous mathematician, conclude that some notable event was like to ensue, betokening the death of the natives in those parts."—*Hubbard.* The Brigges here referred to was probably the Savilian professor at Oxford, in 1619—the author of many treatises upon mathematical subjects, and also of the Arithmetica Logarithmetica.

* Cotton Mather attributes the landing at Plymouth instead of on the shores of the Hudson, to design on the part of the Hollanders. "Some of the neighbors [of the Puritans] in Holland, having a mind themselves to settle a plantation there, secretly and sinfully contracted with the master of the ship employed to transport the English exiles, by taking a more northerly course to put a trick upon them. 'Twas in pursuance of this *plot* that not only the *goods*, but also the *lives* of all on board were hazarded by the ship's falling among the shoals of Cape Cod, where they were so dangerously entangled among the breakers, thus late in the year, that the company broke off their intentions of going any further."—*Magnalia Christi Americana.*

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feeble, and destitute as they were for many months after their landing, they could but ill have sustained themselves against the fierce and warlike Iroquois, had they attempted a plantation in their vicinity; whereas Providence had prepared for their reception in New England, by sweeping off the nations in the region round about their landing place by a strange mortality, unknown among them until the previous year. So great had been the loss of the Indians by the pestilence, that not one in ten of their number had survived—not enough even to bury their dead, the bones of whom were bleaching upon the ground when the pilgrims landed.* This fatal malady was regarded as a special infliction of divine vengeance upon the heathen; and connecting it

* Hubbard. "The Indians in these parts had newly, even about a year before, been visited by such a prodigious pestilence, as carried away, not a *tenth*, but *nine* parts out of *ten*, (yea, 'tis said, *nineteen* of *twenty*, among them: so that the woods were almost cleared of those pernicious creatures, to make room for a better growth."—*Magnalia Christi Americana.* "This pestilence was accompanied or preceded by a comet, which the Indians superstitiously considered as the cause of the disease."—*Potter's Narragansetts.*

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with various other providences, the Pilgrims regarded it as a second fulfilment of God's promise to the people of Israel, when directing their course through the wilderness toward the land of Canaan, in which "he engaged to them concerning the Canaanite and the Hittite, that he would by little and little drive them out from before his people, till they were increased and did inherit the land." There was yet another passage in the history of the *ancient* chosen, affording strong Scriptural encouragement to the *modern*. Like the King of Moab, on the approach of the children of Israel to his borders, the Indians took counsel with Balaam in regard to the Pilgrims, and with similar results. In other words, before the neighboring Indians determined to cultivate the relations of peace with the strangers, they held a pow-wow in a dismal swamp, which was continued several days without intermission. All the great conjurors and medicine-men were assembled on the occasion, and practised their incantations against the English to the utmost of their skill. But the conjurors could not succeed in arraying their Manitto against the strangers. Another

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attempt to procure a curse upon them by a pow-wow was made by a noted Sachem on the Merrimack, but entirely without success. In consequence of this failure, the Sachem charged his son and successor "never to quarrel with the English, lest thereby they came to be destroyed utterly, and rooted out of the country." Accustomed as much to draw their illustrations from the Scriptures as they were to seek counsel therein, nothing could have been more natural than that, in regard to the failures of those pow-wows, the pilgrims should apply to their own case the words of the great necromancer of Midian;—"Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel."*

With such principles as the Pilgrims brought with them—such perseverance in times of difficulty, and such courage in the hour of danger—with such minds to resolve, and such arms to strike—and above all, with such an exalted and unwavering religious faith to sustain them in every trial—there need be no marvel at the degree of success which crowned their enterprise—and which was in all respects equal to their fortitude.

* Hubbard's New-England, p. 60.

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But the depopulation of the country by sickness had not extended to the tribes inhabiting the territories from which were subsequently formed the Colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut;* and the Pokanokets, Narragansetts, Pequods and Mohegans were yet powerful in comparison with the strength of the colonists, and continued so for nearly half a century thereafter. Of these the Pokanokets, a valiant nation, numbering a thousand warriors, were in the nearest proximity to the infant colony. But their chief, Massasoit, a man of noble character and bearing, exerting great influence over the nations, was persuaded by Ti-squantum to make a visit to the strangers in person. He came, attended by a party of his friends and chiefest counsellors, and with open arms bade them welcome to his country. The authority of Massasoit extended from the Narragansett to Massachusetts Bay, including Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a part of Cape Cod. The seat of

* "The pestilence extended as far west as Narragansett Bay, and included the Wampanoags in its ravages. The Narragansetts were entirely free from this affliction."—*Potter—Rhode Island Hist. Coll. vol.* iii.

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his power was at Sowamset, in the neighborhood of Mon-Top, or Mount Hope, or Haup, after the English corruption—subsequently memorable as the citadel of King Philip. Massasoit, being not upon friendly terms with Canonicus, chief of the Narragansetts, was glad to strengthen himself by an alliance with the strangers; and a treaty of amity, offensive and defensive, was formed between them, which was faithfully observed by himself and his people for upward of half a century. Directly west of the Pokanokets were the Narragansetts, also a powerful nation, numbering its thousand braves for the war-path; or, according to some authorities, from three to five thousand—a number, by the way, altogether too large, unless the warriors of minor and tributary chieftains are included.*

* The estimates of the early writers were often very wide of the truth as to the numbers of the Indians. Callender, in his Centennial Discourse, estimates the Narragansett warriors, on the authority of Roger Williams, at five thousand. Hutchinson says they were the most numerous of all the tribes between Boston and the Hudson River. Brinley says they numbered thirty thousand. Hubbard estimated them at two thousand on the breaking out of Philip's war, by which they were reduced to "but a hundred or two." Roger Williams

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Their territory lay between the bay bearing their name and the Pawcatuck river, the present eastern boundary of Connecticut. They also held dominion over Aquetnet,* on Rhode Island, and over a portion likewise of Long Island. Two years after the landing of the Pilgrims, Canonicus sent them a challenge, consisting of a quiver of arrows tied together with the skin of a serpent. The belligerent message was understood, and the reply was equally significant: the snake-skin was returned to Canonicus filled with powder and ball.† But the Pokanokets served partially as a line of defence to the Colonists, and peace was preserved.

Next westward of the Narragansetts, occupying the territory between their boundary on

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said—"In the Narragansett country a man shall come to many towns, some bigger, some lesser; it may be a dozen in thirty miles travel."

* Some of the old documents spell the name Aquedneck.

† Prince, in his Chronology, questions whether the message was intended as a challenge, and thinks that the Governor was deceived by the messenger who bore it. A more intimate knowledge of Indian customs would have taught this venerable author better.

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that side and the Connecticut river, were the Pequods and Mohegans. These tribes have generally been considered by historians, though erroneously, as distinct peoples. They doubtless constituted, originally, one and the same nation, and became divided only by civil wars. At the time when the English Colonists commenced the planting of Connecticut, it is true that the seat of power of the Pequods lay within the territorial boundaries of what now form the towns of New London, Groton, and Stonington.* They

* The laborious historian of Connecticut attempted yet more distinctly to define the Pequod country as follows:—"From a large rock in Connecticut river, near Eight Mile Island, in the bounds of Lyme, eastward through Lyme, New-London and Groton to Ah-yo-sup-suck, a pond in the northeastern part of Stonington; on the east, from this pond northward, to another pond called Mah-man-suck; thence to Egunk-sank-a-poug, or the Whetstone hills; thence to the Man-hum-squeeg, in the Whetstone country; thence southwest a few miles to Acquiunk, the upper falls in the Quinebaug river. Thence the line ran a little north of west through Pomfret, Ashford, Willington and Tolland, to Mo-she-nup-suck, the notch in Bolton Mountain. From thence the line ran southerly through Bolton, Hebron and East Haddam, to the first mentioned bounds." After the subjugation of the Pequods, however, the Mohe-

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were the most warlike and powerful of the New England Indians. Their chief Sachem, Sassacus, held dominion over many subordinate Mohegan chiefs, at the North, along the course of the Connecticut River, and over a portion of Long Island.* The Nipmuck country, about Quinebaug, was also held in subjection by him. The residence of the chief was at Pequod, now New London.† "Their principal fort was on a beautiful and commanding eminence in the town of Groton, a few miles south-easterly from Fort Griswold. Sassacus had another fort near the Mystic, a few miles farther to the eastward, which took its name from that river.‡ It was said that the Pequods could at that day

gans claimed this entire territory, with the exception of the three first-mentioned towns of Lyme, New-London and Groton, as their own country by inheritance. The Mohegans also claimed the Wabbequasset country yet farther north, by virtue of conquest.

* According to Winthrop, the name of the Chief Sachem of the Pequods, in 1620, was Pekoath, and he had at that time four thousand bowmen. Drake, however, insists that Pekoath was not the name of a chief, but a corruption of Pequod. Sassacus became Chief of the Pequods about the year 1632.

† Gookin's Historical Collections. ‡ Trumbull.

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raise four thousand warriors. But this estimate must likewise have been an exaggeration, unless the Mohegans east of the Connecticut river, and along its valley, were all included.

But the affinity between the Pequods and Mohegans was not sufficiently strong to prevent a disruption. When in 1635 or '36, in compliance with an invitation from Wahquimacut, a Sachem of one of the smaller Mohegan tribes inhabiting the valley of the Connecticut, the colonists of Plymouth commenced their settlements at Mattaneaug, which they called Windsor, the Mohegans and Pequods were engaged in civil strife; and it is in connexion with this contest that the name of the illustrious UNCAS first appears as an actor in the march of history. From the day when the Pilgrim fathers planted their feet on the soil of Connecticut, this noble chieftain became their friend, and such he remained until the day of his death, involving a period of nearly half a century. I have no means of ascertaining the age of Uncas at the time of the settlement of Connecticut; but from the length of his subsequent life, he

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could not have been an old man, while his antecedent career had been such as to forbid the idea of his being very young. He was a Pequod by birth, and of the royal line both by his father and mother; and his wife was a daughter of Tatoban, one of the Pequod Sachems, and a near relative of Sassacus.*

Thus descended and connected, Uncas was himself a Pequod Chief, though not, according to the old authors of any considerable rank. Probably he was one of the six and twenty war-captains mentioned by Trumbull, as being subordinate to Sassacus, "The Pequod King," as he is called by many early writers. But great and terrible as was the name of this Chieftain, before whose arms the Narragansetts alone of the Indians in that region had been able to sustain themselves, he found a greater than himself in Uncas. Some misunderstanding arising between them, Uncas raised the standard of revolt; but his power and influence not being great at first, his rebellion was crushed, and he was ignominiously expelled his country by the haughty victor. Retiring among the Mohegan

* Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. ix.

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clans farther in the interior—clans which entertained greater fear of the power of Sassacus than affection for his person,—and smarting under a sense of his degradation, if not suffering from positive wrong,—Uncas was not long in illustrating his own genius, and manifesting his power. It was no difficult undertaking to foment disaffection to a tyrannical chief like Sassacus, especially among tribes brought under his sway by conquest. This work having been artfully accomplished, Uncas next had the address to combine various clans of the Mohegans in a rebellion against the Pequod King, and place himself at their head. The conspiracy was successful, and resulted in the dismemberment of the Pequod territory,—the Pequods themselves being confined to the narrow district upon the sea-board, heretofore described, while the Mohegans, establishing their own independent sovereignty, possessed the residue of the Connecticut territory East of the central river. Thus successful in arms, the warriors whom Uncas led to independence submitted to his sway, and the highest aspirations of his vaulting ambition were re-

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alized, while the imperious Sassacus was humbled by the loss of territory and subjects, though not subdued. The glare of military splendor is equally dazzling to civilized and savage man; and although the victor used his power with a heavy hand, he nevertheless had the address to grasp the sovereignty over the Mohegans leagued under his standard, and the ability to fix it in his family. It was the closing struggle of this rebellion in which the Pequods and Mohegans were engaged on the arrival of the first colonists in Connecticut.

The colonization of Connecticut, by the English Pilgrims, was begun, as already mentioned, in the year 1635, at the invitation of the Indians residing in the river country themselves. These Indians were at that time numerous—swarming not only along the Connecticut, but also through the vallies of its tributaries, such as the Podunk, the Tunxis, and other considerable intersecting streams. The Podunks resided upon the lands now comprised in the town of East Hartford. At Mattehesick, now Middletown, was the powerful Sachemdom of Sowheag. The clans in the territory now covered by the towns of

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East Haddam, Chatham, Wethersfield, East Hartford, Windsor, and Suffield, were numerous and strong. Below the Sowheags were the Mackmoodus Indians, great in their powwows and famous for their worhip of evil spirits.* In the territory now composing the town of Lyme, resided the West Nahantics,† who were confederates of the Pequods. It is believed that the Indians of the river country numbered from fifteen to twenty thousand bow-men upon the war-path. In Windsor, for example, forty years after the settlement by the whites, the Indians outnumbered them as nineteen to one. They were divided into small clans, having different names, and li-

* Massachusetts Hist. Coll. vol. ix.

† The orthography of the name of this clan of the Narragansetts, has been various; it generally being written, by New Englanders, either Niantics, Nihantics, or Nehantics. The Indians themselves, however, as I have discovered by the correspondence of Sir William Johnson, when they came to the use of letters, wrote Nahantics. The Rev. Matthew Graves, moreover, Missionary among this people, a century ago, who wrote with scholarship and elegance, spelt their name NAHANTICS. I have therefore adopted his orthography, as the most likely to be correct—and as an Indian would be most likely to sound it.

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ving under their own Sachems. But they were, nevertheless, all Mohegans, and with the exception of the Nahantics, if not under the immediate government of Uncas, greatly subject to his influence.

The Dutch from Manhattan Island had already established a small trading-post at the junction of the Little River with the Connecticut, where now stands the city of Hartford, between which and the Indians the most amicable relations existed; and the friendship of Uncas secured for the English a welcome reception from all the Indians north of the circumscribed territory of the Pequods. The first house in the colony was erected by the Plymouth traders, at or near the junction of the Tunxis river with the Connecticut, in Windsor, in the summer of 1633. But no formal settlement by numbers was begun until two or three years afterward. Meantime the movements of the English were looked upon by the Pequods with suspicion. The approach, even, of trading-parties, was viewed with an evil eye; and their feelings broke out into open hostility in the following year, when Captains Stone and Norton, from Massachusetts, entering the river in a small bark for

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a trading expedition, were treacherously murdered, together with the crew of the vessel.* The Indians who committed these murders had been engaged by Captain Stone as guides; and it has been questioned by some of the early writers whether they were in reality Pequods. Be this as it may, they were in close intercourse with them; and the Sachems, both of the Pequods, and of their confederates, the Nahantics, shared in the spoils of the vessel, which after having been plundered was sunk in the river.† There is reason to believe, moreover, that Sassacus had already, in anticipation of hostilities with the English, been placing his country in the best posture of defence permitted by the means and skill of his people. Still the murder of Stone and his crew was disclaimed, and an embassy of peace was sent by Sassacus to Boston. The ambassadors stated that the murders had been perpetrated by a few vagrant Indians who had fled to the Dutch; and such were their apparent sincerity, and the plausibility of their story, that the outrage was overlooked, and terms of peace were con-

* Holmes's Annals. † Hutchinson.

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cluded. Upon the faith of this treaty, no longer doubting the integrity of the Pequods, a Mr. John Oldham proceeded with a freighted bark into the waters of their neighborhood upon a trading expedition. His particular destination, however, was Block Island, which belonged to the Narragansetts. While lying quietly at anchor near the Island, the bark was boarded by a cloud of Indians, and Oldham himself murdered with horrible cruelty. His brains were dashed out by a war-club, and his limbs hacked off. It was subsequently ascertained that this outrage was committed by a party of the Block Island Indians, aided by a number of the Narragansetts. The act was disclaimed by the latter, and the perpetrators fled to the Pequods, by whom they were received and protected.* Oldham had fifty pounds of gold coins upon his person when he was killed, which the murderers took, and according to the testimony of Lion

* Winthrop states that although Canonicus sent a message to the Governor of Massachusetts, disclaiming the murder, and asserting that Miantonomoh had gone in pursuit of the murderers with seventeen canoes and two hundred men, yet that all the Sachems of the Narragansetts, except Miantonomoh, were the contrivers of the murder, in revenge for his trading with the Pequods.

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Gardiner,* after punching holes through the pieces, they suspended them upon their necks for ornaments. The Pequods likewise committed divers other outrages upon those English who were now engaged in the commerce and colonization of the river country. This second act of treachery and blood—for Stone and Norton had been murdered while asleep—roused the Massachusetts colonists to action, and a detachment of eighty men was despatched against the Pequods, under Cap-

* Lion Gardiner was the founder of Saybrook. He had served in the Low Countries under General Fairfax, and being a skilful engineer, was sent out by Lord Say-and-Seal, and Lord Brook, to construct a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut river, about the year 1633 or 1634. He continued in command of that post several years, and ultimately removed to Gardiner's Island, which he obtained from the Indians, with whom, especially those of Long Island, he had much intercourse. He was the ancestor of the Gardiners, who have remained in possession of that island to this day. It has been an entailed estate, until it fell to the late Jonathan Gardiner, deceased, at whose death the entail was broken. There is a tradition that the Island was conveyed to Gardiner by Waiandance, in consequence of his (Gardiner's) exertions to ransom the chieftain's daughter, who had been made prisoner by Ninegrate, during a war between the Nahantics and the Long Island Indians.

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tain Endicott, with instructions first to proceed to Block Island and put the offenders to the sword, but to spare the women and children. Having ravaged the Island and avenged the death of Oldham, by burning their wigwams, sixty in number, and destroying their corn, Endicott was next to proceed to the Pequod country, and demand the murderers of Stone and Norton. The demand not being complied with, instant hostilities were to follow. The instructions with regard to Block Island were literally executed. The Island was subjugated after a slender resistance, and ravaged by fire and sword. The commander next proceeded to the territory of the Pequods; but shortly after landing a large number of the Indians appeared in his front and attempted to open a parley with him—speaking by an interpreter, yet maintaining a respectful distance. But on being made acquainted with the terms dictated by the invaders, they fled to the woods and disappeared. Winter was now approaching, and Endicott, instead of obeying his instructions, returned home, for the alleged purpose of making preparations for a more formidable expedition

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than he had brought into the field. He was severely censured for his conduct, in not pursuing and attacking the enemy at the time. Yet when he came to view the numbers, the preparations, and the temper of the Indians, it is possible that his retreat was not an indefensible measure. After leaving Block Island, and before entering the Pequod country, Endicott had landed at Saybrook, and made that place his rendevous, to the no small grief and displeasure of Lieutenant Gardiner. The latter had previously had some trouble with the Pequods; and in his own simple and straight-forward narrative of the Pequod Wars, he says of Endicott,—"You have now come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away." Gardiner remonstrated against the expedition, but nevertheless sent some of his own men with them, for the purpose, it would seem, of sharing in the expected plunder of corn—his little fort being short of provisions. On the retreat of Endicott, his men reached their boats and embarked first, having previously burnt several wigwams, and destroyed a quantity of corn. Gardiner's men remaining behind, the Indians reappeared and a

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skirmish ensued, in which two of the former were wounded, and one of the Indians killed by a Sachem friendly to Gardiner. "And thus," says the latter, "began the war between the Indians and us in those parts."*

The Pequods and Narragansetts had long been at war, and were regarded almost as hereditary enemies. Justly anticipating that a storm would break upon them in the Spring or Summer ensuing, the former now attempted to open negociations with the latter, not only for peace between themselves, but for the purpose of an alliance, offensive and defensive, against the English, with whom the Narragansetts had lived upon amicable terms ever since their "war message" had been so promptly returned "in kind" by the colonists of Plymouth. Sassacus saw that several of the chiefs who had been conquered and desposed by him, had been restored to their dominions and authority by the English intruders. He saw new stations occupied by them in rapid succession; and by their increasing numbers and military demonstrations, it was obvious that if not repelled at the out-

* Vide Mass. Hist, Coll. vol. iii., 3d series.

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set, these strangers would plant themselves down too firmly to be easily uprooted. A man of half the sagacity of Sassacus would have reasoned as he did. He saw that the weak would inevitably fall before the strong; and that the settlements of the pale-faces must be extirpated in their infancy, or his own people and their kindred nations would be crushed.

The arguments of the Pequods to the Narragansetts were more than plausible; they were sagacious and politic. "Although," says Hutchinson, "they had never heard the story of Polyphemé and Ulysses, yet they artfully urged that the English were come to dispossess them of their country, and that all the Narragansetts could hope for from their friendship was the favour of being the last devoured; whereas if the Indians would unite they might easily destroy the English, or force them to leave the country." For a brief period the Narragansetts listened to the warnings of their Pequod neighbors with apparent favour; but the emnity between the two nations was alike bitter and inveterate—a circumstance of which the rulers of Massachu-

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setts lost not the advantage. Canonicus,* the chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, on the first arrival of the colonists at Plymouth, a very wise and able man, was now old; and his nephew, Miantonomoh,† the son of his youngest brother, and his destined successor, during that year had been associated with him in the government;—a practice not unfrequent among the New England Indians, and common in the ancient Hebrew Monarchy.‡ Anticipating that Sassacus might at-

* Of the parentage of Canonicus, Hutchinson gives the following tradition:—"The ancient Indians among the Narragansetts reported when the English first arrived, that they had in former times a sachem called Tashtassuk, incomparably greater than any in the whole land, in power and state. He had only two children, a son and a daughter, and not being able to match them according to their dignity, he joined them together in matrimony, and that they had four sons, of whom Canonicus, who was Sachem when the English came, was the eldest." This, adds the historian, is the only piece of Indian history or tradition, of any sort, from the ancestors of our Indians, I have ever met with.

† The name of this Chief has also been written in different ways. Roger Williams writes it indifferently, Meantinomy and Miantunnimoh.

‡ "Meantinomy, because of his youth, was his Mar-

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tempt a reconciliation and an alliance with Canonicus and Miantonomoh, and fearing lest the effort to that end might be successful, the Governor of Massachusetts sent a solemn embassage to the Narragansett Court, which "was most royally received." After the message had been delivered, Miantonomoh replied that he willingly embraced peace with the English, but added that from the nearness of the Pequods, he thought it expedient to hold amity with both.* Still the Narragansetts were reluctant to lose an opportunity

shal and Executioner. When the Sachems had condemned any one to be punished, they very often executed the sentence themselves;—sometimes, however, one of the Chief Warriors was made the Executioner."—*Roger Williams.*

* Winthrop's Journal, Holmes, and Johnson's "Wonder-Workynge Providence." The latter thus records the reception. "They were entertained royally, in the Indian manner. Boiled chestnuts is their white bread, and because they would be extraordinary in their feasting, they strove for variety after the English manner, boiling pudding made of Indian corn, putting therein great store of blackberries, something like currants. Having thus nobly feasted them, they gave them audience in a state-house, round, about fifty feet wide, made of long poles stuck in the ground, covered with mats."

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of avenging themselves against their an cient enemy, and the Massachusetts embassage was shortly reciprocated by a visit from Miantonomoh in person, with a retinue of twenty chiefs. They were received in Boston with much stateliness and ceremony by the Governor. The magistrates and clergy were convened for the occasion, and the chiefs were conducted into the town from Roxbury by a military escort. But if Miantonomoh had for a moment felt a friendly emotion toward the Pequods, as he had so lately declared to the Boston messengers, all the vengeance of his soul had now kindled afresh. His propositions to the governor contemplated the entire destruction of that people, and he expressly desired that by the compact to be concluded, neither the English nor the Indians should make peace until the work should be accomplished. "The Governor, for form's sake," ingenuously confesses the historian, "took time until the next morning to give an answer." Accordingly early on the following day, a treaty was concluded, by which neither party was to make peace with the Pequods without the consent of the other.*

* Hutchinson.

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The counsels of Sassacus to Miantonomoh had been those of wisdom. But the course of the latter resulted in the gratification of present revenge, at the cost of his own ultimate destruction.

During the progress of these negociations, the Pequods continued their hostilities against the settlers of Connecticut by frequent murders—laboring withal to rouse all the Indian nations under their influence to join them in the contest, notwithstanding their ill-success in the effort to provoke the Narragansetts to unite with them in what should have been a common cause. The continued inroads of the pale faces fired the bosom of Sassacus with indignation, and the flame burned with corresponding intensity in the bosoms of his people. Insensible to fear as the panthers of their own forests, both chief and people resolved to make red their paths with the blood of the intruders, and either drive them from the country or perish in the contest. Several murders were committed in the autumn of 1636, and the Fort at Saybrook was little better than in a state of siege during the whole of the winter following. Every

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motion of the garrison was narrowly watched, and the navigation of the river seriously impeded by the wily foe lurking in every covert upon its banks. In February, 1637, Lieutenant Gardiner, having left the fort with a party of ten, to work upon the marshes, was attacked and driven in with the loss of several of his men, himself being wounded. Soon afterward a vessel descending the river, manned by three men, was attacked by the Indians in their canoes. One of the navigators was shot through the head with an arrow, and the others were taken and put to death by the most frightful tortures; their mangled corpses being hung upon trees by the river side, as a spectacle of terror to the English in passing by. The settlement of Weathersfield was attacked shortly thereafter, and six men and three women killed, two young women being taken prisoners. These bloody acts had been immediately provoked by the expedition of Captain Endicott—the Pequods avenging the invasion of Massachusetts upon the settlers of Connecticut. The dissatisfaction of the latter in regard to that expedition was expressed by the General Court, and a

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request preferred that Massachusetts should prosecute the war with greater vigor. The fort at Saybrook had been so severely pressed, that Captain Mason was sent thither from Hartford with a reinforcement of twenty men. But he was shortly relieved by a detachment of the same number of "lusty" men from Massachusetts, sent thither by Sir Henry Vane, then for a brief period governor of that colony, under Captain Underhill, "one of the forwardest of the Boston enthusiasts." In all, during the spring of this year, the Connecticut colonists lost about thirty of their number by the arms of the Pequods; and as the latter were lurking about the confines of every settlement, the whole colony was in a very distressed condition.*

* "The Pequods lay skulking about almost continually; by which means divers of the English lost their lives, and some that were seized by the Indians going on the river, were most horribly tortured by them, and roasted alive; and afterwards the *Tawnies* would with derision in the English hearing, imitate the doleful *ejaculations* and invocations of the poor victims that had perished under their cruel tortures, and add infinite blasphemies thereunto. So that the infant colonies of New-England were necessitated to the *crushing of the serpents*, while they were but yet in the cradle."—*Magnalia Christi Americana.*

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Under these circumstances, it was determined by the three colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, to unite their military strength in a well concerted effort to crush the power of Sassacus, and extinguish his nation. Miantonomoh rejoiced in the prospect of seeing the terrible enemy of his people struck down, and promised the assistance of his warriors; while Uncas, whose friendship for the English never wavered, was equally gratified by an invitation to take arms once more against the Chief from whom he had revolted, but who was yet to the surrounding Indians powerful.

A General Court was summoned at Hartford, on the first of May, to take measures for the expedition, in which the three towns of Hartford, Windsor and Weathersfield, by which the war was to be prosecuted, were fully represented. It was resolved that a body of ninety men should be raised, forty-two of whom were to be taken from Hartford, thirty from Windsor, and eighteen from Weathersfield. The whole were to be commanded by Major John Mason. The people were few and poor; but the necessary sup-

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plies were raised with alacrity, and every disposition promptly made for the vigorous prosecution of the war.* Meantime the colonists of Massachusetts and Plymouth, alive to the sufferings and perilous situation of their friends in Connecticut, determined to render prompt and efficient aid in the emergency. One hunred and sixty men were raised by the former colony, under the command of Captain Stoughton, and forty by the latter. Of the Massachusetts division forty were sent forward in advance, under Captain Patrick.†

Major John Mason, the officer entrusted with the command of the Connecticut forces, was an Englishman, then in the prime of life, being thirty-seven years old. He was bred to arms, and had served with credit in the Netherlands, under Sir Thomas Fairfax. He was one of the dauntless men who led the first colonists from Dorchester to Windsor, and the vigor and ability with which he exercised his military trusts, showed that they could not have been confided to more competent hands. His little command of ninety men embarked

* Trumbull. † Hutchinson.

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in three small vessels at Hartford, on the 10th of May, having been joined by Uncas with seventy of his Mohegan warriors with a fleet of canoes. The descent of the river was tedious; the vessels were several times aground; and the Indians, becoming impatient of the delay, obtained permission to go ashore and proceed to Saybrook by land. On their way, and at no great distance from the Fort, they fell in with a party of forty Pequods. A brisk skirmish ensued, which resulted in the defeat of the latter, with the loss of seven of their warriors killed, and one taken prisoner. Unimportant as this little engagement was, in itself considered, its consequence was not inconsiderable in another respect, as it served to assure the colonists of the fidelity of the Mohegans, who, with their chief, had been somewhat, though most unjustly, distrusted. This prisoner had been an inmate of the fort at Saybrook; but on the breaking out of the war he had absconded and joined his people. His acquaintance with the English and a good knowledge of their language enabled him to act as a spy, in which service he was employed by Sassacus. The Mohegans were

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so highly incensed against him that they determined to put him to death by torture, after their own customs; "and the English," as the laborious Trumbull *naïvely* remarks, "in the circumstances in which they were, did not judge it prudent to interpose." A large fire was accordingly kindled, before which he was roasted, and his body torn limb from limb, cut in pieces, and eaten while yet the flesh was quivering between their teeth. This I believe is the first if not the only record of actual cannibalism found in the annals of New-England. The fidelity of Uncas was yet farther tested by Lieutenant Gardiner, after his arrival at Saybrook. "I called for Uncas," says Gardiner, "and said to him, 'You say you will help Major Mason, but I will first see it; therefore send you now twenty men to the Bass River, for there went yesterday night six Indians in a canoe thither; fetch them now, dead or alive, and then you shall go with Major Mason,—else not.' So he sent his men, who killed four, brought one, a traitor, to us alive, and one ran away."

Mason arrived at Saybrook on the 15th, and the slender garrison of that place was

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added to his little army. Being detained several days by contrary winds, some dissensions arose as to the point where the Pequod country should be invaded. The Court had instructed Mason to land at Pequod Harbor, and march thence directly upon the Indian forts, and the subordinate officers and soldiers were for a literal execution of their orders. But it was well known that the natural defences of the harbor were formidable, and it was ascertained that the Pequods were there in force, armed in part, as it was reported, with muskets,—those

"Tools pregnant with infernal flame,"

which had thus far, in a good degree, been kept from the hands of the Indians. Thus prepared, the Pequods were watching day and night for the approach of the invaders. Mason was therefore of the opinion that it would be best to sail past the Pequod Harbor into the Narragansett Bay, there to land, and thence take the enemy by surprise from an unexpected direction. The chaplain of the expedition was the Rev. Samuel Stone, the colleague of Hooker at Hartford; and a man of great wit, learning, and piety. As the

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Pilgrims, in all important undertakings, were accustomed to ask wisdom from above, Mr. Stone was desired to make the question in dispute the subject of special prayer. He accordingly spent nearly the whole of the following night in anxious supplications to the Almighty for wisdom to direct them in their course. On joining the officers in the morning, Mr. Stone expressed his concurrence in the views of their commander, and thereupon they were acceded to without a murmur. This deviation from the instructions of the Court was doubtless the course of wisdom. General Courts, and legislative bodies, and councils at a distance from the scene of action, are but poor directors of military movements, where everything depends upon circumstances ever-varying, as well as upon the skill and promptness with which they can be turned to account by the commander on the spot.

Before Mason's departure from Saybrook, twenty inefficient men from Hartford were sent home, and their places supplied from the garrison of Lieutenant Gardiner, under the command of Captain Underhill, from Massa-

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chusetts. The expedition sailed on Friday, the 19th of May, arriving in the Narragansett Bay on the 20th. The day following being the Christian Sabbath, no attempt was made to land; and on Monday access to the shore was prevented by a north-western gale which continued until Tuesday afternoon; at sunset on the evening of which day Major Mason effected a landing, and marched up to the lodge of Canonicus, the aged chief of the Narragansetts, and the uncle of Miantonomoh, whose guardian he had been during his minority, and who was now his chief executive officer, the regal authority having in fact been committed to his hands several years before. Mason having made known to Canonicus the reason why, unbidden, he had thus appeared in arms in his territory, the aged Chief approved cordially of the object of the expedition, and sent for Miantonomoh for farther counsel. Obedient to the summons Miantonomoh joined his uncle with alacrity, attended by two hundred of his chiefs and warriors. The young prince likewise approved warmly of the enterprise, but considered the numbers of the English and Mohegans altogether too

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small to march against so fierce and comparatively numerous a people as the Pequods. He therefore volunteered the services of two hundred of his Narragansett braves, but did not go forth himself as their leader.* On the same evening a runner came in from the plantation of Roger Williams, at Providence, with a letter from Captain Patrick, who, with his forty men, was hastening to join the forces of Mason and his allies, and urging them not to move forward until his arrival. But the white troops of Mason were anxious to execute the purpose of their expedition and return for the protection of their families, attacks upon whom might be made from other directions; while it was apprehended that their Indian allies might question their prowess if they delayed any longer. Indeed their dusky allies had already begun to laugh at their expense, saying that "Englishmen talked much but would not fight." Another evil consequence of a longer delay, would probably be

* "The great body of the Narragansetts were very desirous of revenge against the Pequods; but the old Sachems were desirous of remaining neutral."—*Callender's Centennial Sermon.*

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that the Pequods would hear of their approach from this hitherto unexpected quarter. It was therefore determined not to wait for the accession of Patrick's company, but to push forward for the Pequod country on the morning of the 24th. Mason's forces now numbered no more than seventy-seven Englishmen, sixty Mohegans, and about two hundred Narragansetts. They reached the eastern Nahantic, bordering the Pequod territory, at nightfall, and encamped near the castle of a subordinate Narragansett sachem,—the site of the present town of Westerly,—whose carriage was so haughty and sullen that it was judged prudent to place a guard around his fortress, to prevent any nocturnal communication between his people and the enemy.* But on

* "The site of the present town of Westerly." Thus it would appear by some authorities. Potter, however, in his compilation of Narragansett history, (Coll. Rhode Island Hist. Society, vol. iii.) thinks the place of this night's encampment was at Fort Neck, twelve miles from the Pawcatuck river. He says, "there are now the remains of an old fort there, with traces of ditches, and a wall of stone and earth. It is on a point of land, projecting into a pond, with steep banks. Near it is an ancient burial place of the Nehantic Sachems."

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the following morning a portion of these Nahantics joined the expedition, and numbers more of the Narragansett people overtook them in the course of the day—thus increasing the Indian forces to about five hundred;—all loud in proclaiming their own valor, and boasting of the deeds they were to perform in the coming encounter.

It had been ascertained that the great majority of the Pequod warriors were in two forts, or inclosures of pallisadoes, of which mention has already been made, so large as to embrace a considerable number of their wigwams, occupied by their old men, their women and children. One of these fortresses, or stockades, was commanded by Sassacus in person, and both had been rendered as strong as the means and martial science of the Indians would allow. They were indeed thought by them, both within and without, to be impregnable. It had been the design of Captain Mason to attack both these defences at the same time, but on arriving at the Pawcatuck river, after a march of twelve miles, information was received from Wequash, a petty Pequod sachem, who had re-

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volted from Sassacus to the Narragansetts, that induced the captain to change his purpose.* The forts were situated at too great a distance apart to allow a division of the English forces; for it was on them that the chief reliance must be placed in the operation of storming the works. Thus circumstanced, it was now determined that the first attack should be made upon the fort at Mistick, upon which the march was immediately directed. But the name of Sassacus was yet so terrible to the Indians, that notwithstanding their previous vauntings, their hearts failed them as they advanced in the direction of his strong holds. The project of attacking the great chieftain in his fort argued, in their apprehension, a degree of temerity worse than madness. "Sassacus," they said, "was all one God, and could not be killed." At first they endeavored to dissuade the English leader from any such rashness as to attack

* "This Wequash was by birth a Pequod. He was a sachem, residing where Sassacus lived; but upon some disgust received, he went from the Pequods to the Narragansetts, and became a chief captain under Miantonomoh."—*Increase Mather.*

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him; but finding their arguments of no avail, about a hundred of the Narragansetts withdrew from the army, and retreated back to Providence, reporting as they went, that the English had all fallen before the fury of the Pequods. The rumor spread to Boston, where it was received with deep anxiety. Uncas indeed had predicted that the Narragansetts would leave them, as Major Mason declares in his own history of the campaign. "But as for himself," adds the Major, Uncas declared "that he would never leave us, and so it proved: for which expressions, and some other speeches of his, I shall never forget him. Indeed he was a great friend, and did great service."

Meantime Major Mason pressed forward upon Mistick, being guided thither by Wequash, who was a native of that place, and whose hostility to Sassacus had now become so bitter as to prompt him to lead an enemy to the destruction not only of his own people, but of his own relations. The weather was exceedingly hot, and the march through the tangled wilderness so embarrassing, that all the English were severe sufferers, and some of

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them sank down disabled from service. But however much their limbs failed, their hearts faltered not, and just at the close of the day they found themselves, as they supposed, in the immediate vicinity of Mistick fort; although it subsequently appeared that they were not so near by two or three miles as they had been led to believe. Repose and refreshment being needed by all, before going into action, they bivouacked for the night near certain rocks yet marking the place in Groton, now known as Porter's rocks.* The men soon sought rest in sleep, pillowing their heads as Jacob did at Bethel, and trusting, with a faith as strong as his, upon the same unseen though Almighty power for protection. In the course of the evening Wequash was sent forward to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy, and his report, on returning to the camp, imparted strong encouragement. He ascertained that the Pequods were in a high feast and carousal. They had seen the transport vessels passing round from Saybrook toward Narragansett bay, and as no attempt had been made to land at Pequod harbor, they were im-

* Trumbull.

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pressed with the idea that through fear Mason had relinquished the enterprise. Having moreover had great success in fishing the previous day, they were holding a feast, and celebrating by song and dance the departure of their enemy,—not dreaming that he was even then within sound of their revelry. Their festival closed about midnight, and the revellers gave themselves up to a slumber, rendered more than ordinarily profound by reason of their exertions and their orgies. The night was serene, and toward morning the moon arose to spread her silver mantle over the wild landscape. The little army of the English was then aroused from sleep, and the necessary dispositions were made for advancing to the attack. Having commended themselves to the care of the great Ruler of armies, they proceeded about two miles, when, supposing the fort could not be far distant, Major Mason sent for the Indians, now in the rear, to advance. But, instead of the main body, Uncas and Wequash, only, came forward to the commander. They stated that their warriors were reluctant to proceed in the van, as they had done in the preceding marches ;—whereupon per-

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mission was given them to remain in the rear, with a charge not to flee away, but to form a circle round the fortress, now discerned upon the crest of a hill in front, "and see whether Englishmen would fight." All things being in readiness for the assault, Wequash piloted Major Mason to the north-eastern, and Captain Underhill, with his command, to the north-western entrance. It was yet an hour before day-break, but the moon gave sufficient light for the purposes of the assailants. The Pequod sentinel in front of Mason had left his post for a few moments to light his pipe, so that a faithful dog was first to give the alarm to the slumbering garrison. The barking of the dog was quickly succeeded by the exclamation of the returning sentinel, "Owannux!" "Owannux!" "Englishmen!" "Englishmen!" The alarm caused an instant rallying of the garrison, though in in a state of confusion that gave the assailants, now pressing forward with great vigor, a decided advantage in the outset. The timbers forming the pallisadoes were not placed close enough together to prevent the assailants from firing between them, which they did with

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great effect; and the roar of musketry, mingled with the yells of the Indians within, which were answered by the war-whoops of those without, formed together a horrible din of discordant sounds, such as had never before disturbed the repose of the Pequod country. After a few discharges of their arms in this manner, Mason directed his attention to the principal entrance, which was soon forced, and his troops rushed forward sword in hand. Then followed a struggle of death. The Pequods were none of them supplied with fire-arms, and were obliged to fight only with bows and arrows, war-clubs and tomahawks, while the fire-arms of the English gave them an advantage more than counterbalancing their inferiority of numbers. The Pequods nevertheless made a manly and desperate resistance,—hand to hand and foot to foot;—but the English pressing steadily forward compelled them to retreat through the principal avenue of their walled village toward the western side of the fortress, which having been entered in that direction by Underhill and his division, just in time, they found themselves between two fires. Their only refuge then was to at-

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tain their wigwams, which they entered in squads, and determined to defend. Many severe conflicts of small parties ensued, in which the combatants fought with equal desperation. In the spirited lines of Dr. Dwight, whose muse wept over the destruction of these people :—

" Undaunted on their foes they fiercely flew ;—
As fierce the dusky warriors crowd the fight ;—
Despair inspires ;—to combat's face they glue ;
With groans and shouts they rage, unknowing flight,
And close their sullen eyes in shades of endless night."

In these separate onslaughts the Pequods were slain in large numbers, and several of the English fell dead, while many others were wounded. For a few moments the conflict seemed doubtful ; when Mason boldly entered one of the wigwams, and snatching a blazing brand from the fire, applied it to the dry and inflammable materials with which it was covered. While the leader was thus engaged, an Indian would have transfixed his head with an arrow, but for the interposition of one of his subordinate officers, who observing the action, promptly sprang forward and cut the string of the bow with his sword. The expe-

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dient of Mason was as successful as it was fatal to the doomed Pequods. The flames spread from hut to hut in rapid succession until the whole seventy within the enclosure were in a living blaze; the English retiring without the walls as they extended. Then followed a scene of wild confusion and distress seldom paralleled in a community of no greater numbers. Taking courage from the example before them, the Mohegans of Uncas, and such of the Narragansetts as remained, came up to the works and formed a circular line close to the rear of the English, who were near the base of the pallisadoes. It does not appear that Uncas participated in the timidity of his followers. On the contrary, he exerted himself to animate them to the battle, and acquitted himself like a brave and fearless man—sustaining the evidence afterward given in his behalf by Major Mason. The crackling of the flames, mingling with the wails of distress from those perishing in the conflagration, with the fatal discharges of the English musketry upon the poor wretches who were attempting to escape by leaping from the parapet, presented, altogether, a scene of appalling and terrific gran-

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deur.* The area within the walls was like a sea of fire; and as the sun had not yet risen, the dimness of the morning twilight was dissipated by the lurid light of the flames. It was the history of this conflagration, probably, that suggested the spirited description of a similar, though an imaginary scene, in the beautiful poem of "YAMOYDEN,"† the subject of which was the wars of King Philip:—

"Swift o'er the structure climbs the fire;
In serpent course its streams aspire;
Entwined about their crackling prey,
Aloft they shoot with spiral way;
Wreathing and flashing fiercely round
Their glittering net was mingling wound
O'er all the pile; but soon they blended;—
One mighty volume then ascended,—

* "The fire, by the advantage of the wind, carried all before it; and such horrible confusion overwhelmed the *salvages*, that many of them were broiled to death in the revenging flames; many of them climbing to the top of the *pallizadoz*, were a fair mark for the mortiferous bullets there; and many of them that had the resolution to issue forth, were slain by the English that stood ready to bid 'em welcome."—*Magnalia Christi Americana.*

† By the late Rev. James W. Eastburn, and his friend the late Robert C. Sands.

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A column dense of mounting flame;—
Blacker the shrouded heaven became,
And like substantial darkness frowned
O'er the red atmosphere; around
The fields gave back the unnatural glare;—
Lifting their ghostly arms in air,
Were seen those trunks all bleak and bare;
At distance rose the giant pine,
Kindling as if by power divine,
Of fire a living tree;—
While, where the circling forests sweep,
Each varying hue of bright or deep,
Shone as if raised o'er nature's sleep,
By magic's witchery!
* * * * * * * * *
Around the slaughtered, in their hold,
Stifling in vain their warriors bold,
Each blazing sconce in fury sought,
Pour'd on their foe their deadly shot;
Or, in mad leaps of torture broke,
Through sulphurous fire and volumed smoke;—
While uproar, flame, and deafening yell,
Made the scene seem the vault of hell,
Where, writhing wild in penance dire,
Fiends danced 'mid pyramids of fire!"

Many of the Pequods attempted to force their way through the gates; but if their flight was not intercepted by the English, they were for the most part fallen upon by Uncas and his Mohegans, while numbers were driven back

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to perish miserably in their "burning cells."* The battle was ended ere the sun arose, and never since his beams were arrested by the ascending smoke of the cities of the plain, did the orb of light shine upon a scene of more complete desolation. From six to eight hundred Indians, old men and young, women and children, were either slain by the sword, or consumed in the flames.† Seven only escaped, and the same number were made prisoners by the English. Eighteen prisoners, of whom ten were males, and eight females, were taken by the Mohegan and Narragansett Indians. Four of the males were disposed of to as many

* It almost chills the blood, at this distant day, to contemplate the feelings with which the early or contemporary New-England writers, in their religious hatred of the Indians, viewed and spoke of scenes like this. "At this time it was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the scent thereof; but the victory seemed a great sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands." —*Morton's Memorial.*

† "In a little more than one hour five or six hundred of these barbarians were dismissed from a world that was *burdened* with them."—*Cotton Mather.*

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sachems, the other six were slain. Of the females, four were taken to Saybrook and left in the fort. The other four were carried to one of the settlements, where, being challenged by the Indians as their property, they were executed to end the dispute. "The policy as well as the morality of this proceeding," says Hutchinson, with great simplicity, "may well be questioned!" I should think as much.

Such was the result of the first action of note fought between the pilgrim colonists and the American aboriginals. But the victors were in no enviable condition after the battle. It is true that but two of the English were killed outright; but twenty of their number were wounded, several of them severely,—the heads of the Indian arrows sticking in their flesh, and causing great agony. Numbers of the Mohegans were also wounded. They were without medical assistance—both surgeon and supplies having remained on board the vessels.* But providentially the lit-

* "Sampson was not in much greater distress by thirst, after his exploit upon the Philistines, than our friends the day after this exploit upon the Pequods."—*Cotton Mather.*

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tle fleet hove in sight within an hour after the engagement. Yet to gain it they had to march a distance of six miles, through an enemy's country, bearing their wounded upon litters. They had moved no great distance before a body of three hundred, sent out by Sassacus to succor the garrison at Mistick, appeared in their front. To oppose these Mason had but about forty effective men at his disposition. But the boldness of his movements, and the spirit of his attack, compelled them to fall back. They next proceeded to the ruins of the fort, on beholding which they stamped, and tore their hair, and raised the most dismal howls.* Then leaping down the hill with the fury of demons, they pursued after the English, and would have overrun them but for the warm reception they met with from Captain Underhill,

* "When they came to see the ashes of their friends mingled with the ashes of the fort, and the bodies of many of their countrymen so terribly *barbikew'd*, where the English had been doing a good morning's work, they howl'd, they roar'd, they stamp'd, and were the pictures of so many devils in desperation."—*Cotton Mather.*

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who with a small party had been detached to cover the march to the vessels. Still the straggling Pequods were lying in wait at every convenient place, and annoyed their progress not a little, although none of the white troops were killed; while the Pequods themselves lost a number of warriors in these affairs, whose heads were immediately brought in by the flying forces of Uncas. In the end Mason and his party, including his Indian allies, who dared not remain in the Pequod country, were safely embarked on board their transports; and in three weeks from the time of their departure from Hartford the expedition returned in triumph, having indeed accomplished measures of great importance to the colonies, and considering the smallness of the force employed, and the numbers and ferocious courage of the enemy, achieved a victory not a little creditable both to the skill and bravery of the citizen soldiers. Their welcome was as earnest as brave men desire after a hazardous enterprise, and their arrival was celebrated by public thanks to that Providence which had preserved the lives of so many and crowned their arms with success. In consideration of his good conduct in this

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battle, his majesty King Charles I. sent Uncas "a Bible to show him the way to Heaven, and a sword to defend him from his enemies.*"

The destruction of the Mistick Fort, and the slaughter of its garrison, were the prelude to the fall of Sassacus. On the return of the

* MS. letter from Colonel Joseph Tracy, of Norwich, to Sir William Johnson, in the author's possession. Mr. Tracy added, that "the Mohegans had the keeping of them until this day." In regard to Wequash, who appears to have stood firm during the fight, Cotton Mather makes the following interesting record:—"E'er we pass any further, we will take this place to commemorate famous Wequash. Know, reader, that after this battel Wequash had his mind wonderfully struck with great apprehensions about the *Englishman's God;* and he went about the colony of *Connecticut* with bitter lamentations, *that he did not know Jesus Christ,* until the good people there instructed him. When he had understood and embraced the *Christian religion,* he made a most exemplary profession of it. He reformed all his former ways of sin and lust, and with prodigious patience bore a thousand injuries from the other Indians for his profession, while he went up and down preaching Christ. At last the *Indians murdered* him, and poisoned him for his religion." "Wequash, *the famous Indian at the river's mouth, is dead, and certainly in Heaven.* Gloriously did the grace of Christ shine forth in his conversation a year and a half before his death," &c.—*Shepherd.*

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three hundred to the royal fortress, they upbraided their master for his misconduct, and charged this great calamity upon his haughty carriage and injustice. Indeed, but for the intercession of personal friends among his chiefs and warriors, his accusers would have taken his life. The blow had been as severe as it was unexpected; and so greatly had the nation been weakened by the slaughter, that upon consultation it was believed that they would not be able to retain their country against the arms of the English. Sassacus accordingly broke down his remaining fort, burned the wig-wams of his towns, and chiefs and people resolved to flee from their homes, and the graves of their ancestors, and seek for new abodes toward the west. The imperious Sassacus himself, with his favorite Sachem Mononotto, and seventy or eighty chiefs and warriors, directed his course toward the Hudson river, with a view of finding a home among the Mohawks. The goods carried off by them were estimated, according to the journal of Governor Winthrop, at five hundred pounds value. So large a prize awakened the cupidity of the Mohawks, and the great Pequod Sachem was

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treacherously murdered by them, with twenty of his followers.*

* Drake quotes the following spirited lines from the poem of "Yamoyden," on the flight and death of Ssssacus:—

"And Sassa-co-us, now no more,
Lord of a thousand bowmen fled;
And all the chiefs, his boast before,
Were mingled with the unhonored dead.
Sannup and Sagamore were slain,
On Mystic's banks, in one red night;
The once far-dreaded King in vain
Sought safety in inglorious flight;
And reft of all his regal pride
By the fierce Maqua's hand he died."

The Mohawks were called 'Maquas' by the Dutch. Some writers have questioned the fact whether Sassacus was murdered at all, expressing a belief that he obtained a residence among the Mohawks; but Winthrop's Journal, under date of August 5, 1637, settles that point. "Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone came, with Mr. Wilson, from Connecticut, by Providence; and the same day Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Pincheon, and about twelve more, came by land from Connecticut, and brought with them a part of the skin, and a lock of hair of Sassacus, and his brother, and five other Pequod Sachems, who, having fled for shelter to the Mohawks, were by them surprised and slain, with twenty of their best men." Cotton Mather suggests that the Mohawks were induced to murder Sassacus by the Narragansetts.

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In the preceding narrative of the conquest of the Pequod territory, Massachusetts and her forces have almost been forgotten. Captain Patrick, "with his forty," was left at Providence, eager to join the forces of Mason; but being delayed by contrary winds in descending the Providence river, he did not reach the town of Canonicus until it was altogether too late to take part in the campaign. Placing his men on board of Mason's vessels, however, Patrick joined that officer on his embarkation from the destruction of Mistick. But his behavior toward Mason was offensive, and he was sent back, with the few Narragansetts who had not previously deserted, to Miantonomoh. This wayward chief,—who, it has already been observed, went not upon the war-path with Mason,—now that the Pequods had been vanquished in the pride of their strength, and the spirits of those that remained crushed, immediately united with Patrick, and they together swept through the Pequod country to Saybrook. Meantime the news of Mason's victory created the most lively joy on its arrival at Boston; and the government of Massachusetts immediately

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sent forward a detachment of one hundred and twenty men, under Captain Stoughton. Arriving at Pequod harbor toward the close of June, Stoughton, aided by the Narragansetts, was enabled to surround a considerable body of the Pequods who had sought refuge in a swamp. Eighty captives were taken, of whom thirty were men. These latter, with the exception of two Sachems, who promised to conduct the English to Sassacus, were killed; the women and children were spared.*

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* Drake quotes from the archives of Massachusetts, a manuscript letter from Stoughton to Governor Winthrop, written at this time from Pequod river, thus:— "By this pinnace you shall receive forty-eight or fifty women and children, unless there stay any here to be helpful, &c. Concerning which there is one I formerly mentioned, that is the fairest and the largest that I saw amongst them, to whom I have given a coate to cloathe her. It is my desire to have her for a servant, if it may stand with your good liking, else not. There is a little squaw that Steward Colicut desireth, to whom he hath given a coate. Lieutenant Davenport also desireth one to wit, a small one, that hath three strokes upon her stomach, thus 111+. He desireth her, if it will stand with your good liking. Sosomon, the Indian, desireth a young little squaw, which I know not."

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On reaching Saybrook, Stoughton's forces were joined by Major Mason with forty men from Hartford, and it was determined to push forward coastwise in pursuit of the fugitive Pequods. The Massachusetts and Connecticut troops went round to Quinnipiack, (New Haven,) by water, while Uncas with his Mohegans scoured the shores, and drove such bands of the enemy as were lurking about the bays and inlets, from place to place.* He overtook a small party of them at Menunkatuck, (Guilford,) at no great distance from what has since been called Sachem's Head harbor. The eastern side of the harbor is formed by a long narrow point of land, upon which the Pequods were driven in the pursuit that ensued instantly on their discovery. Upon the eastern side of the point is a little basin or cove, into which the Pequods, the pursuit being very close, plunged, in the hope of making their escape; but Uncas had anticipated the movement, and they were taken as they landed on the other side

* "There was yet work for them to do," says Cotton Mather of this pursuit. "We have sometimes read of *a gleaning as good as a vintage.*"

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the narrow entrance of the cove, and instantly put to death—their bodies being cast into the water—from which circumstance the place is called "the bloody cove" to this day. The Sachem of the hapless fugitives being taken, he was condemned to death, and Uncas himself executed the sentence, by shooting him with an arrow. Striking off the deceased chieftain's head, Uncas placed it high in the crotch of an oak tree near the harbor, where the skull remained many years. Hence the name of "SACHEM'S HEAD."*

On their arrival at Quinnipiack, Mason and Stoughton ascertained that the Pequods, to the number of nearly three hundred, with some two or three hundred other Indians, collected from different tribes and clans, had taken refuge in a swamp in Fairfield, called Sasco. Thither they were pursued, and various efforts made to dislodge them from their tangled retreat; but the swamp was so miry, and the slough so deep, that the Eng-

* MS. History of Guilford, written by the Rev. Thomas Ruggles, D. D. in 1765, in the author's possession. A part of this history, and only a part, has been published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections.

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lish could not enter it without imminent hazard and great difficulty. A party attempting to enter the swamp, under Lieutenant Davenport, was repulsed with loss. A cordon was then drawn around the swamp so as to prevent ingress or egress, whereupon the Indians desired a parley, which was granted. Unwilling to shed the blood of those who had not previously participated in the war, life was offered to all who had not fought against the English. Under this proposition the Sachem of the place, with his men, women, and children, to the number of two hundred, came forth and all were spared. But the Pequods, true to their haughty character, refused to surrender, declaring that they would fight to the end. Hostilities were thereupon renewed; but owing to some dissensions among the assailants as to the best mode of attack, many of the Indians succeeded in effecting their escape. Toward night, by cutting a passage across a narrow peninsula, the circumference occupied by the Indians was greatly diminished, and it was hoped on the following day to carry the place; but early on the next morning, a thick fog came on, operating

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greatly to the advantage of the besieged. Availing themselves of this misty covering, they made a desperate attempt to cut their way through the troops of Captain Patrick, yelling hideously, and dealing their blows thick and fast. Mason hastened to the assistance of Patrick, and the savages were driven back; but their assaults were renewed at other points with so much vigor that sixty or seventy of their bravest warriors succeeded in effecting their escape. Twenty were killed, and one hundred and eighty taken prisoners.*

Thus closed the regular campaign against the fiercest nation of the New England In-

* "Heaven so smiled upon the *English hunting* of them, that here and there whole companies of them were by the intimations of the other *Indians* trepanned into the hunters' hands; particularly at one time, several hundreds of them were surprised by Captain Stoughton with little opposition, who, sending away the females and children as captives, put the men on board a vessel of one Skipper *Gallop*, which proved a *Charon's* ferry boat unto them, for it was found the quickest way to feed the *fishes* with 'em."—*Magnalia Christi Americana.* Hubbard states that the number that Stoughton caused to be drowned thus, "a little without the harbour," was thirty-seven.

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dians. Yet the Mohegans and Narragansetts continued to fall upon such of their scattering parties as were discovered, the heads of whom were sent in to the civil authorities at Hartford and Windsor. Indeed the poor Pequods, as Major Mason remarks in his own history, "now became a prey to all Indians: happy were they that could bring in their heads to the English!" A few of them were hunted to such extremities, that they came forth to the settlements and threw themselves upon the mercy of the colonists. The female prisoners and children were divided among the soldiers, and numbers of them were sent to the West Indies and sold as slaves.* Among the prisoners were the wife and children of Mononotto, the chief next in rank to Sassacus. This woman was noted for her modesty and humanity; and in consideration of some former acts of kindness extended by her to certain white female prisoners in the hands of her people, she was sent to Governor Winthrop, in Boston, by whom she was

* "We sent fifteen boys and two women to Bermuda by Mr. Pierce; but he missing it, carried them to [New] Providence Isle."—*Winthrop's Journal.*

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treated with great tenderness.* About two hundred of the Pequods were yet prisoners among the Mohegans and Narragansetts. At the request of the Magistrates Uncas and Miantonomoh repaired with these unfortunate people to Hartford, where they were apportioned, one hundred to Uncas, eighty to Miantonomoh, and twenty to Ninigret, chief of the Nahantics. The design was that they should be merged in the tribes of those chieftains respectively. They were forbidden ever after to appropriate to themselves the name of Pequods, or to reside in their own country. Such, at least, according to Major Mason, and also the laborious and generally accurate Trumbull, was the disposition made of the Pequod remnants, and such

* Mononotto fled to the Mohawks with Sassacus, and was wounded in the battle between that people and the fugitives, by whom his chieftain was slain. Escaping, wounded thus from the Mohawks, Drake supposes he was afterward put to death by English hands. The authority for this supposition I have not seen. The name of Mononotto's wife was Wincumwane, and it is related of her that she saved one of the colonists, while the Indians were preparing to take her life, in a manner as disinterested, if not heroic, as that of Pocahontas, when she interposed to save the life of Captain Smith.

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the decree respecting them. And yet no little difficulty is encountered in attempting to reconcile the statements, as to this point of history, put forth by contemporaneous writers. By some it was asserted that both Uncas and Miantonomoh exerted themselves at the close of the war, to befriend the fugitives, and "to screen them from their more vindictive enemies." Drake conjectures that "when Uncas saw them vanquished, he probably began to relent his unprovoked severity toward his countrymen, many of whom were his near relations." At all events, it appears that early in the Spring succeeding the war, Uncas had in some way given umbrage to the Massachusetts government, in connection with these Pequod remnants, for the explanation or adjustment of which difficulty he proceeded to Boston, accompanied by Mr. Haynes, one of the leading men of Hartford, and thirty-seven Mohegan warriors. Winthrop's journal contains the following entry upon the subject:—"He tendered the Governor a present of twenty fathoms of wampum. This was at court, and it was thought fit by the council to refuse it, till he

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had given satisfaction about the Pequods he kept, &c. Upon this he was much dejected, and made an account we would have killed him; but, two days afterward, having received good satisfaction of his innocency, &c., and he promising to submit to the order of the English touching the Pequods he had, and the difference between the Narragansetts and him, we accepted his present. About half an hour after he came to the Governor, and laying his hand upon his breast, made the following speech :—

"'This heart is not mine, but yours. I have no men: they are all yours. Command me any difficult thing, I will do it. I will not believe any Indian's word against the English. If any man shall kill an Englishman, I will put him to death were he ever so dear to me.'"

Whatever might have been the difficulty between the parties,—and its precise nature does not appear,—the matter was amicably adjusted. Uncas was furnished with "a fair red coat," and after he and his warriors had been liberally regaled, they departed "very joyful." Beyond doubt the remaining Pequods

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were disposed of in some manner among the Mohegans and Narragansetts. Their nation was extinguished, or directed to be extinguished, by law; even the name of their beautiful river, it was decided by the council of the pale-faces, should be changed from Pequod to Thames; and the town of Pequod, where Sassacus held his dusky court, was called New-London,—the new name being conferred as a testimony of the love the colonists bore their parent country. Such, moreover, was the terror with which their fate inspired the other Indian nations, that the colonies, as between themselves and those people, enjoyed peace for nearly forty years. Nevertheless, the rule of the Mohegans over the Pequod fugitives does not appear to have been of the mildest character; nor did the captives become speedily interblended with their conquerors. On the contrary it appears that within two years afterward, a considerable number of them, in direct contravention of the stipulations at Hartford, had collected and replanted themselves in the country late their own, in such numbers as to require another military demonstration to dislodge

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them. Their settlement was at Pawcatuck Bay,* and in 1639, Captain, or rather Major Mason, was sent against them at the head of forty men, with instructions "to drive them away, burn their wigwams, and bring off their corn." Uncas, with one hundred of his Mohegans, and twenty canoes, assisted in the enterprise. The doomed Pequods were taken by surprise, and fled with such precipitation as to be unable to carry away either goods or corn. They however attempted to rally and make a descent upon Uncas and his warriors, while the latter were engaged in plundering their tenements. A smart skirmish ensued between the two Indian parties, from which the English stood entirely aloof. It was, however, a drawn battle, or rather melée, the affair not aspiring to the dignity of a battle, in which, although several were wounded, no lives were lost. Seven prisoners were taken; but these were released at the intercession of Otash, a Narragansett chief, and brother of Miantonomoh. On the following morning a force of some three hundred Indians appeared, to espouse the cause of the Pequods; but

* Now Stonington.

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after a few threats, a parley ensued, which ended in the retirement of the Indians. Mason then completed the work of destruction upon which he was commissioned, and returned to Hartford.

The subjugation of the Pequods and the part borne by Uncas during the war added much to his importance. Being, as has been already said, a Pequod himself, and of the royal lineage, he laid claim to their country by right of conquest. This claim was recognized by the English, and the lands were accordingly added to his territory. Other clans and tribes, moreover, gathered round him, and his numerical strength was increased in proportion to the augmentation of his dominions. The fall of the Pequods likewise wrought other changes in the Indian relations of the country, since the Sachems, who had been tributaries to Sassacus, released from the thrall of that haughty chief, now asserted their rights as independent sovereigns; and the colonists, desiring to deal justly and truly with the natives, felt themselves obliged not only to purchase the lands they proposed to occupy, of Uncas, but also, in many instances, to buy

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them a second time, of the minor Sachems claiming particular localities. Hence in the early records of Connecticut involving purchases of land, the name of Uncas is of frequent occurrence.* In the year after the Pequod war, he was at Hartford, and entered into articles of agreement with the colony, by virtue of which all disputes between himself and other Indian nations were in the first instance to be submitted to the consideration of the Colonial Council. Two years afterward, viz. in 1640, a treaty was negotiated with him at Colchester, granting to the Governor and Magistrates of the colony on the Connecticut river, all his lands, called by

* It was ever the desire of the colony of Connecticut to deal with the Indians with justice and humanity, notwithstanding the apparent harshness of feeling manifested toward them by the early writers, as has been seen in the preceding notes. The following entry in Winthrop's Journal, Oct. 16, 1640, illustrates the assertion I have made :—"The General Court of Massachusetts received a letter from the Magistrates of Connecticut, New-Haven and Aquidneck, (Rhode Island,) wherein they declared their dislike of such as would have the Indians rooted out, as being the cursed race of Ham; and their desire of our mutual accord, in seeking to gain them by justice and kindness."

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whatever name, reserving only the ground then planted by him, for himself and the Mohegans. In the year following he concluded another treaty with William Leete and his associates, the planters of Guilford, conveying to them the region of territory between Hammonasset and the East river, now forming the town of Madison, but known until within the last twenty years as East Guilford.* His admitted right to convey this territory shows that he had extended his conquests over a considerable section of the country west of the Connecticut river; as far as the present town of Branford, according some to authorities.

As the colonists were now rapidly increasing in numbers, and their settlements extending at greater and yet greater distances from each other, a confederation of the several colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Haven and Plymouth, for the purposes of mutual counsel and defence, was suggested as early as the year 1638. Restlessness among the Indians gave occasional uneasiness to the people of all the colonies, while those

* MS. History of Guilford, by Rev. Dr. Ruggles.

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of Connecticut, in particular, found additional cause of concern in the conduct of the Dutch authorities of New-Amsterdam, who had early established a fortified trading-post at Hartford, and were preferring claims to territory in that region which could not be recognized by the English settlers. Hence for their mutual protection against enemies native or foreign, as well as for the prevention of jealousies among each other, "a bond of amity and peace" was judged advisable; but the articles were not definitively agreed upon until the spring of 1643.* This union was not formed a moment too soon: for by this time strong reasons existed for believing that Miantonomoh, the heir apparent of the Narragansetts, who had held the reins of government during the declining years of Canonicus, his uncle, was conspiring as Powhatan had done in Virginia thirty-three years before, and as Philip did in New-England thirty years afterward, to compass the extermina-

* "They refused to admit Rhode Island into the confederacy, most probably at the instigation of Massachusetts, between whom and Rhode Island there was continual jealousy."—*Potter—Rhode Island Hist. Coll.*

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tion of the English colonies. Miantonomoh was a chief of noble appearance, great in stature, stern in his aspect, and as subtle in his designs as he was haughty in his carriage and cruel in his disposition.* It must be remembered that the early impulses of Canonicus were for making war upon the infant colony of Plymouth, he having been deterred only by the resolute answer returned to his belligerent message. It now appeared that notwithstanding his alliance with the colonists against the Pequods, he had only hated the latter more than he did the former; since information was received in Boston, in the autumn of 1642, from several sources almost simultaneously, that he was then combining the Indians in a general league for the extirpation by massacre of all the English settlements. The design was not to make open war; but by a well-concerted arrangement, the Indians in sufficient numbers were to introduce themselves into every English settlement and plantation, under the pretext of

* "Stern and cruel, causing all his nobility and attendants to tremble at his presence."—*Johnson's Wonder-Workynge Providence.*

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trading with the people, and, at a given signal, all the whites were to have been put to death. The like intelligence was conveyed to the civil authorities of Plymouth, New-Haven, and Connecticut, and so certain were they of its truth, that they urged it upon Massachusetts to anticipate the movement by making immediate war upon the Narragansetts, promising that the Massachusetts forces should be joined at Saybrook by a proportionate number from Hartford. The General Court of Massachusetts was convened upon the occasion, and the Indians nearest their settlements, who in their traffic with English traders in the East, with the French in Canada, and with the Dutch of the New-Netherlands, had by this time very generally furnished themselves with fire-arms, were disarmed. "A constant watch was ordered to be kept from sun-set to sun-rising, and a place of retreat to be provided in each plantation, for the women and children, and for the security of ammunition. Beacons were erected and ordered to be fired upon an alarm, and every smith was required to lay aside all other business until the arms in the colony

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were put into good order."* Miantonomoh was moreover ordered to Boston, to undergo an examination in relation to the charges. He obeyed the summons promptly, accompanied by a retinue of his chiefs. But if at that time guilty,—and subsequent disclosures left no doubt of the fact upon the minds of the Commissioners of the United Colonies,—he had nevertheless concerted his measures so discreetly, and he demeaned himself so wisely on his examination, as to leave the Massachusetts authorities no sufficient excuse for his detention. He denied the charges in toto, and demanded to be confronted face to face with his accusers. "He was very deliberate in his answers," says Hubbard, "showing a good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, as well as a seeming ingenuity withal. But though his words were smoother than oil, yet, as many conceived, in his heart were drawn swords. It was observed also that he would never speak but when some of his counsellors were present, that they might, as he said, bear witness of all his speeches at their return home." The charges

* Hutchinson.

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not being sustained with sufficient certainty to warrant the shedding of blood, the chief was dismissed; and he returned to his own home.* Yet the people of Connecticut were by no means satisfied with the result of the examination; they put little confidence in his protestations; and it was only with difficulty that Massachusetts was enabled to restrain them from making war against the Narragansetts on their own account, independently of the league.

Connected with these embryo movements of Miantonomoh were transactions of yet greater importance, considered in their bearing upon the life of Uncas, and in regard to which there has been no small degree of controversy; conducted, for the most part, with a design to disparage the character of this

* "On dismissing the complaint, the arms of the Indians, taken from them as stated in a preceding page, were restored. "Although we saw that it was very dangerous to us that they should have guns, &c., yet we saw not in justice how we could take them away, seeing they came lawfully by them, by trade with the French and Dutch. Therefore we thought it better to trust God with our safety, than to save ourselves by unrighteousness."—*Winthrop's Journal.*

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extraordinary man, and unjustly to exalt that of his rival. . These transactions are now approached in the regular order of history. If, as the weight of historical testimony satisfactorily proves, Miantonomoh was plotting the destruction of the colonies, the fast and uncompromising friendship of Uncas for the latter was a formidable obstacle in his way. Indeed according to the evidence of Lion Gardiner, during one of Miantonomoh's treasonable visits to the Indians of Long Island he avowed the intention of letting the English alone only until he had destroyed Uncas. The testimony of Gardiner is explicit upon the subject of the conspiracy; and the details which he has recorded, derived from the great Long Island Sachem, Waiandance, are so ample, particular, and consistent, that it would seem impossible for a doubt upon the subject to remain with any fair-minded man, after an examination of the testimony.* After the close of the Pequod war, in 1638, among other matters adjusted at Hartford was the formation of a league, or covenant, of

* Gardiner's Pequod Warres, Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii., Third Series.

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perpetual peace between Miantonomoh and Uncas, and their respective Indians. It was agreed "that all past injuries should be remitted and for ever buried;" and in the event of any future injuries, committed by either party, it was stipulated that instead of taking the work of vengeance into their own hands, they should refer the questions in dispute to the English, by whose decisions they were mutually bound to abide. But this league of friendship was of little virtue in the estimation of Miantonomoh.

Independently of his conspiracy against the English, now that the Pequods, who had previously held the Narragansetts in check, and indeed in perpetual terror, were no longer a nation, the bosom of Miantonomoh was fired by the ambition of becoming the universal Sovereign, or Emperor, of all the Indians in New England. But a consummation which he so devoutly wished was not attainable,—at least so long as Uncas stood at the head of the Mohegans. Independently, moreover, of this consideration, Miantonomoh was doubtless jealous of the increasing power and importance of the Mohegan Chief. He

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therefore resolved to rid himself of such a formidable obstruction in the path of his projected aggrandizement, by procuring his assassination. An instrument for the execution of this treacherous purpose was found in the person of a young Pequod, who, as Uncas was passing unattended from a neighbouring wigwam to his own house, shot him in the twilight through the arm with an arrow.—Uncas saw not whence it came; but gaining his "palace," as his lodge is called by one of the old writers, the arrow was drawn from the wound, which was cured in a short time. Believing, however, that his aim had been fatal, the Pequod fled to the Narragansett country, reporting to his employer and to his people that his hated victim was dead. Nevertheless, when it was ascertained that Uncas had only been wounded, in order to relieve themselves from the odium of the transaction Miantonomoh and his partizans caused it to be reported that the whole affair was a device on the part of Uncas, to seek occasion for a quarrel with a rival whom he feared, and that he had in fact wounded himself by an incision in his arm with a sharp

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flint. Information of the affair having reached Boston, the Narragansett Chief, with his Pequod traitor, was summoned to Boston, for examination before the Governor of Massachusetts. The result was a conviction of the Pequod's guilt, from his own testimony, and the Governor was at one moment on the point of remanding him to Uncas himself for punishment. Miantonomoh had of course protested his own innocence; and he now pleaded in behalf of the Pequod that he might not be sent to Uncas in the manner proposed, promising to conduct him back to his own country, and send him to Uncas for examination and punishment himself. Still, so far from fulfilling this promise was the dissembling Narragansett, that during his journey homeward, he struck off the Pequod's head with his own hands, upon the principle, doubtless, that being dead he could tell no more tales. Nor did the attempts upon the life of Uncas, the constant and distinguished friend of the English colonists, end here. The strength of poison and the arts of sorcery were both put in requisition by his enemies, yet without success. It is not in evidence

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that Miantonomoh was the instigator of these practices, although from what had previously taken place, as well as from subsequent transactions, such an inference is not a very long one. There was a sachem of considerable power residing with his tribe at Mattabeseck, on the Connecticut river, ten miles below Hartford, named Sequasson. He was closely allied to Miantonomoh, both by relationship and feeling; and during the year, (1642) in which the attempts already mentioned were made upon the life of Uncas, Sequasson and his people assumed a hostile bearing toward the Mohegans, several of whom were killed, one of the number being a high and favorite chief in the councils of the sovereign. In conformity with the covenant heretofore mentioned, Uncas, instead of avenging himself, made his complaint in regard to all these outrages, to the Governor of Connecticut. He had demanded of Sequasson the surrender of six of his people as an atonement for his own murdered chief and friend, because he was "a great man." Sequasson declined the surrender of so large a number; and finally, at the mediation of the English, Uncas agreed

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to accept of one victim for execution. But Sequasson refused to abide by the terms of even this compromise, and appealed to arms,—depending, as he declared, upon the assistance of Miantonomoh. That assistance, however, was not vouchsafed by the Narragansett, and Sequasson was vanquished by the Mohegans; a number of his warriors were slain, and his town destroyed by fire.* In the progress of these troubles with Sequasson, and before the open war between him and Uncas, the latter had a narrow escape from assassination attempted in another form. While descending the river in a canoe, he was waylaid by a party of Sequasson's Indians, and a shower of arrows shot at him. Fortunately the barbed missiles hurtled past his head without effect.

Unwearied efforts were made by the Magis-

* Winthrop states that seven or eight of Sequasson's warriors were killed and thirteen wounded. His town ravaged and burnt. Miantonomoh complained of Uncas in this matter, both to the Governors of Connecticut and Massachusetts. But as the English had no agency in the affair, it was determined to leave them to take their own course.

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trates and Government of Connecticut, to heal the difficulties between Uncas and Miantonomoh, but without success. On the contrary, the feelings of the aspiring Narragansett became more and more embittered, until rejecting every overture of mediation, he resolved upon open war upon the Mohegan. To this course it is believed he was instigated by the noted schismatic Samuel Gorton, who, for what one of the orthodox writers of that day calls his "damnable errors," had been banished from both Massachusetts and Plymouth. Gorton had the preceding year purchased from Miantonomoh a tract of land at Shawomet, where he planted the town of Warwick, and where he was then living on terms of close intimacy with the Narragansetts.* The motive of

* There was a controversy with Gorton in respect to the lands in question. The Rhode Island historians hold that Massachusetts was ever jealous of the growth and prosperity of their colony; and Potter asserts the readiness of the government of Massachusetts to oppose Gorton's purchases at Pautuxet and Warwick, on account of their religious hostility to him. But it must be borne in mind that the chiefs of whom Gorton purchased, Sacononoco and Pomham, repaired to Boston, and declared to the government that Miantonomoh had forced one of

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his interference to foment the quarrel between Miantonomoh and Uncas does not appear, although the fact is stated by all, or nearly all, the contemporaneous writers. But let that be as it may, immediately after his return from Boston, having assassinated his own assassin by the way, as already related, Miantonomoh, without consulting the English as he was bound to do by the tripartite convention of Hartford, without proclaiming war, or giving Uncas the slightest intimation of a belligerent intention, suddenly invaded his terri-

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them to sign the deed of sale. They also threw themselves upon the protection of Massachusetts. Gorton was afterward seized and taken to Boston, where he was tried and convicted of blasphemy, for which he came near being put to death. The milder punishment of imprisonment, however, was resorted to, but the dissatisfaction of the people even at this measure of security, was such, that the sentence was at length commuted to banishment. He then went to England, where through the influence of the Earl of Warwick, he obtained a grant of the disputed land at Shawomet, which he thenceforward called Warwick, in honor of the Earl. He was a self-taught preacher, well versed in the Hebrew and Greek languages; and on his trials for his heresies, greatly embarrassed his judges by his talents and ingenuity.

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tory with an army of a thousand warriors. It was not until the invaders had actually crossed the Yantic river, at the ford above the falls, and were thus actually within the territory of the chief town of his dominions, that Uncas was apprised by some of his runners of his enemy's advance. For once, though an Indian, he was taken by surprise. But his heart faltered not. His reply to the messenger was, that Miantonomoh must not be allowed to reach his town; and hastily collecting four or five hundred of his bravest warriors,—not half the number of his enemy,—he boldly marched forth to the unequal conflict. Having proceeded three or four miles, Miantonomoh and his forces were met upon the plain, distant a mile or two west of the falls; and here the Mohegan chieftain signalized himself by an act worthy of the proudest hero whose name has ever yet been written by the muse of history. The opposing forces had approached within bow-shot of each other, when Uncas courageously advanced some distance in front of his braves, and desired a parley, which was granted. Having approached within speaking distance, Uncas addressed his invader to

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the following effect :—" You have a number of brave warriors with you, and so have I with me. It is a pity that our warriors should be killed in a private quarrel between their chiefs. Step forward, like a brave man, as you profess to be, and let us fight the battle ourselves. If I fall, the Mohegans shall serve the Narragansetts. But if Uncas kills Miantonomoh, the Narragansetts shall be mine!"* The proposition was not met in a corresponding spirit. " My braves," said Miantonomoh, " came here to fight, and they shall fight." Uncas had doubtless prepared his warriors for the crisis. On the rejection of his proposition, he instantly fell flat upon the ground, at which signal his warriors sprang forward with the fury of the chafed panther. Discharging a single shower of arrows, they rushed upon the ranks of Miantonomoh with

* The unlettered Mohegan knew nothing of the classics, or of the ancients. Else it might have been imputed to him that he borrowed the notion of this proposition from the speech of Fuffetius, the Alban commander, to Tullius Hostilius, King of Rome: " Let us hit upon some expedient by which it may be determined which nation shall command the other, without much slaughter or effusion of blood on both sides."

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a degree of boldness and impetuosity which the latter could not resist. They broke at the first shock, and a flight ensued, attended by the hideous yells and screams incident to Indian warfare. The Narragansetts were pursued down rocks and precipices, to the river, and such was the panic produced by the suddenness and energy of the onslaught, and so hot and close was the pursuit, that numbers of them, cut off from the fording-place above, were driven headlong down the precipice that beetles over the cataract. The greater number, however, crossing the river, were driven before the conquerors like a herd of deer before the huntsmen, across the plain where the old town of Norwich now stands, over the rocky ridge on the eastern side, and thence across Sachem's Plain, upon which the battle was ended by the capture of the chief. Miantonomoh had been furnished with a suit of armor by Gorton, which, less wise than the Hebrew shepherd boy, he assumed for the protection of his person "before he had proved it." This armor, instead of doing him any good, so impeded his flight as to secure his capture. Some of the fleetest of the Mohe-

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gans overtook, and seizing him by his attire, drew him back, in order that on coming up Uncas might have the honor of capturing him himself. It was but an instant before the gallant Mohegan leaped forward and grasped his enemy by the shoulder. The appropriate war-whoop brought a number of his braves to his assistance, and the illustrious prisoner was secured. The battle was then ended. Thirty of the Narragansett warriors were killed, and a much larger number wounded. Among the latter were two sons of the venerable Canonicus, and a brother of Miantonomoh. This brother had likewise been encumbered with a coat of armor furnished by the same Gorton, contributing also to his capture. According to several accounts, he was brought to Uncas by two of Miantonomoh's captains,—traitors to the Mohegans, who had joined the Narragansetts, and now hoped to propitiate the victorious chief, whom they had betrayed, by bringing him so distinguished a captive. But Uncas served them as David did the young Amalekite, who falsely boasted of having killed King Saul at Gilboa. He struck off their heads.

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The vanquished chief bore his discomfiture and captivity with little philosophy. He sat down sullenly, and refused to utter a word. "Why don't you speak?" inquired the more ingenuous victor. "Had you taken me, I should have besought you for my life." But the scornful Narragansett disdained to reply. Still Uncas spared his life, and returned in triumph from the campaign of a day to his capital.*

Faithful to his engagements to submit every question of difficulty arising between himself and the Narragansetts to the advice, if not the arbitrament of the English, Uncas determined to take his prisoner to Hartford, to consult with the colonial authorities as to the disposition proper to be made of him. His resolution to this effect was doubtless hastened by the interference of Gorton and his adherents in Rhode Island, who demanded his release under a threat of vengeance. The demand and the threat were alike unheeded;

* Winthrop imputes this invasion of the Mohegans expressly to the affair between Uncas and Miantonomoh's relative, Sequasson. Potter echoes the same opinion.

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and the Mohegan chief carried the prisoner in triumph to Hartford. But under all the circumstances of the case, the Connecticut magistracy deemed it improper for them to interfere. The war in which the Narragansett chief had been taken, was a measure of his own. It was confined to the Narragansetts and Mohegans, toward both of whom the English occupied the position of neutrals; and they therefore declined deciding the case. Miantonomoh, however, although he had with stubborn hauteur refused to ask for terms of Uncas, was no longer speechless, and he now earnestly pleaded that he might not be delivered back to that chieftain, preferring to be retained in the custody of the colonists. In the end, therefore, it was concluded that he should remain at Hartford, in custody, as the prisoner of Uncas, who would relinquish his claim to him as such, until the whole case could be submitted for advisement to the Commissioners of the United Colonies. A meeting of those Commissioners was held in Boston in the following September, over the deliberations of which Governor Winthrop was called to preside. The whole case was

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deliberately examined, and all the charges previously alleged by Uncas against the prisoner were investigated and substantially proved; while the evidence in regard to some of them, considered doubtful before, was materially strengthened, if not rendered clear and unequivocal. It was proved that Miantonomoh had been the instigator of the several attempts upon the life of Uncas heretofore mentioned: and that after having stipulated to deliver the Pequod assassin to Uncas, he had murdered him with his own hands, on the road from Boston to Narragansett. More than all, his own immediate agency in stirring up the Indians to a general conspiracy for cutting off all the English colonies and plantations was fully established;—and farther, that at his invitation the Mohawks had already arrived within a day's journey of the English settlements to participate in the feast of blood; having been deterred from advancing nearer only by intelligence of the victory of Uncas, and the capture of his enemy. It was also ascertained upon this point, that these Mohawks were, at the very time of the trial, waiting only for the release of Miantonomoh,

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which event was to be the signal for falling either upon the white settlements, or upon Uncas, or upon both, as might be judged expedient.*

* Those historians who have espoused the cause of Miantonomoh against Uncas, and have condemned the proceedings of the Commissioners in this investigation, seem, generally, to have overlooked this important feature of the case. Yet few historical facts are better established than that of this conspiracy. The visits of Miantonomoh to Long Island were frequent while he was arranging his plans; and he exerted all his eloquence and subtlety, to bring the Indians there into the conspiracy. He called the Indians in the sachemdom of Waiandance together, gave them gifts, and called them brethren;—"for so are we all Indians, as the English are," he added. "We must be one as they are, otherwise we shall all be gone shortly, for you know our fathers had plenty of deer skins; our plains were full of deer, as also our woods, and of turkies, and our lakes full of fish and fowl. But these English, having gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes fell the trees. Their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs destroy our clambanks, and we shall all be starved. Then it is best for you to do as we, for we are all the sachems from east to west, both Moquakoes and Mohawks, joining with us, and we are all resolved to fall upon them all at one appointed day." After communicating his designs and preparations for them, he gave them the signal for action: "When you see the three fires that will be made

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With such proofs before them, it was evident to the Commissioners that there could be little hope of peace between the Colonists and the Indians, while such a subtle and turbulent spirit as Miantonomoh should be suffered to live. It was equally evident that there could be no safety for Uncas in the event of his rival's liberation; "but that, either by secret treachery or open force, his life would be in continual danger." Yet with all the proofs before them, the Commissioners desired not to make a final disposition of the case without the soundest advice that could be obtained. They therefore submitted the matter to five of the most judicious elders, and six of the principal ministers of Massachusetts. These gave their opinion that he ought to be put to death. Thus supported,—knowing that it would not be safe to set him at liberty,—yet feeling that there was not sufficient ground for the colonial authorities to order his execution be-

forty days hence, in a clear night, then do as we, and the next day fall on and kill men, women and children, but no cows, for they will serve to eat till our deer be increased again."—*Gardiner's Pequot Warres.*

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cause of his offences against them, the Commissioners finally resolved that Uncas "MIGHT JUSTLY PUT SUCH A FALSE AND BLOOD-THIRSTY ENEMY TO DEATH." But they at the same time directed that his execution should not take place within the boundaries of any of the English plantations, or without his own proper jurisdiction. They likewise farther advised "that he should forbear to exercise any barbarous cruelty toward him, as their manner is." In the event of a refusal by Uncas to carry the recommendation into execution, then the Commissioners decided "that Miantonomoh should be sent in a pinnace to Boston, there to be kept until farther consideration."*

* Winthrop. Mr. Savage, in his edition of Winthrop's Journal, appends a long and very extraordinary note to the Governor's account of these proceedings, from which it is very evident that the annotator had not thoroughly studied the case, or else that his perceptions had been clouded by the writings of those who have favored the side of Gorton and the Narragansetts. Mr. Savage assumes that in his recent invasion of the Mohegans, Miantonomoh was only attempting to take vengeance of Uncas for despoiling the town of Sequasson—forgetting that in the quarrel between Uncas and the

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It does not appear that previous to this decision of the Commissioners, it had been the purpose of Uncas to put his prisoner to death. Had he been thus inclined, he might, agreeably to the usages of savage war, have struck him down upon the field of his capture; or he might have taken yet deeper vengeance by putting him to the torture without the trouble of a journey to Hartford. He was not even present at the meeting of the Commissioners in Boston. But their decision governed his own; and the residue of the story of Miantonomoh is soon told. On the

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latter, it was the latter who was the aggressor. The annotator also forgets a yet more important feature of the transaction—the conspiracy of Miantonomoh to cut off the whole English population. Mr. Savage ends his note by a quotation from Stephen Hopkins, Governor of Rhode Island, who denounces the Commissioners bitterly for authorising an act from which he says "the savage soul" of Uncas revolted. Governor Hopkins also held that the execution was an act of ingratitude, inasmuch as Miantonomoh some years before had assisted the colonists against the Pequods. But the assistance rendered by him on that occasion, I have before proven to have been reluctant and inefficient, if not equivocal and doubtful. Potter quotes the same passage from Hopkins with approbation.

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return of the Connecticut and New-Haven Commissioners they dispatched messengers to Uncas, requesting him to meet them at Hartford, with a competent number of his most trusty warriors. The determination of the Commissioners having been communicated to him, Miantonomoh was surrendered into his custody, and marched back to the country of the Mohegans, and to the field of his own humiliation. Being conducted to the very spot upon which he had been taken, a warrior designated for that purpose, and by some authorities said to have been a brother of Uncas, struck him from behind with a tomahawk, and laid him dead at a single blow. A knowledge of his doom had probably been withholden from him in mercy, and it was believed he knew not by what means he fell. According to the instructions of his white counsellors, it was provided that some "discreet and faithful persons of the English should accompany Uncas and see the execution, for the more full satisfaction of the Commissioners; the English not being allowed to meddle with the head or body at all." Whether this direction was complied with

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is not known. The place of this summary execution is said to have been upon "Sachem's Plain," in the eastern part of Norwich. He was buried upon the spot, by the order of Uncas, and a heap of stones was piled upon his grave. In process of time the heap grew into a considerable mound, from the well-known custom of the race of adding to a monumental pile of the dead whenever they pass it. This mound remained undisturbed until nearly the close of the last century, when some of the neighboring inhabitants illustrated their feelings of veneration by removing the memorial,* and converting the

* Letter from William T. Williams, Esq., prefixed to "Lion Gardiner's Pequot Warres," published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections. On the Anniversary of American Independence, in 1841, the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Greenville paraded upon the plain, and erected on the spot where the chieftain fell and was buried, a neat granite monument, bearing the simple and appropriate inscription in capitals—

MIANTONOMOH.

1643.

The monument consists of a single oblong block of stone, about eight feet by five, and perhaps five in thickness—resting upon a little mound raised for that purpose. An address was delivered on the occasion, by Mr. Gilman, of Norwich.

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sacred materials into a section of stone wall. A traditionary letter, written by the Rev. Richard Hyde, in 1769, and cited authoritatively by Trumbull, states that after Miantonomoh was slain, Uncas cut a large slice of flesh from his shoulder, roasted and ate it; remarking that "*it was the sweetest meat he ever ate, and made him feel strong at the heart.*" But the truth of this incident may well be questioned. It comports not with the character of the man, savage though he was.

There is little for commendation in the character of Miantonomoh. He was probably never a real friend to the English, excepting, perhaps, to Roger Williams, and the original planters of Rhode Island. Yet because of his greater hatred of the Pequods he could aid the English in their extermination. His form was noble and commanding, and he was endowed with a full share of the bravery incident to his race. His age is not known; but he was probably in the prime and vigor of manhood at the time of his death, since he had been taken into the joint government of his people by his uncle Canonicus about ten years before. Their agree-

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ment in the government, was remarkable. "The old Sachem will not be offended at what the young Sachem doth; and the young Sachem will not do what he conceives will displease his Uncle," says Roger Williams. Still Miantonomoh was a dissembler, and a treacherous friend; and he fell a victim to his unchastened and reckless ambition. But although tyrannical to his vassals, and in his bearing haughty and imperious to all, he was nevertheless popular among his people, who would have revenged his death had it not been for the alliance, offensive and defensive, between the United Colonies and Uncas. The venenerable Canonicus, his head silvered with the snows of almost a hundred winters, was yet living to mourn the loss of his favorite;—young Pessacus, now just turned of twenty, as bold as his brother who had fallen, panted for an opportunity to make red his hatchet in Mohegan blood; and in a word, the smothered fire of vengeance was ready to break forth, in every Narragansett bosom. Nor were the Narragansetts proper alone in their resentment. The Nahantics, who have heretofore been mentioned as a powerful people living on the eastern side of the Paw-

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catuck, were in fact a clan of the Narragansetts. Ninigret, their chief Sachem, or king, was a cousin to, or as some authors have said, an uncle of Miantonomoh; and the people were closely allied to the Narragansetts by intermarriages; so that, to quote the words of Miantonomoh himself in a speech to Governor Winthrop, "they were as his own flesh." By these people, therefore, the death of Miantonomoh was deeply felt, and as they brooded darkly over it, their first impulse was revenge upon the Mohegan chief.

Anticipating that Miantonomoh's execution might arouse feelings like those just described, and well knowing that the Narragansetts, even without the Nahantics, were more powerful than the Mohegans, the Government at Hartford had very properly given an assurance to Uncas of protection in the event of another outbreak against him. Messengers were also despatched to the Narragansett Sachems, Canonicus and Pessacus, both from Hartford and Boston, rehearsing the perfidious conduct of Miantonomoh, and justifying the act of putting him to death. Peace and safety were tendered them, but

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only on condition that Uncas and his people should not be molested. The act was declared to have been one of imperative necessity, just in itself, and agreeable to the practice of the Indians themselves under similar circumstances. In a word, the Narragansetts were given distinctly to understand that, if assailed, Uncas should be defended by the colonists to the extent of their power; and as an earnest of this determination a detachment of soldiers was despatched forthwith to the Mohegan country.

Yet these precautions were not altogether sufficient for the maintenance of peace; but Uncas was perpetually harassed by the Narragansetts and Nahantics for the two suceeeding years.* Immediately on the death of

* "In the year 1644, "two days after the Court was broken up, Pomham sent two men to Boston, to tell us that the Narragansetts had taken and killed six of Uncas's men, and five women, and had sent him two hands and a foot to engage him in the war, but he had refused to receive them, and sent to us for counsel."—*Winthrop.* [This Pomham was afterward killed near Dedham, Massachusetts. He is spoken of by Hubbard as "a bloody and barbarous Indian." He had a son taken captive at the same time, "a very likely youth, whose countenance would have bespoken favor for him but for his father."]

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Miantonomoh they had indeed despatched messengers to Governor Winthrop, in Boston, with a present of wampum, in the hope of purchasing the neutrality of Massachusetts in the war which they were at once bent on waging against Uncas. But the mission was unsuccessful, and their belt and present were returned. Still, fired with indignation, they persisted in their belligerent purpose, declaring in reply to a message from the Commissioners of the United Colonies,—"that they would kill the cattle of the English and pile them in heaps; that an Englishman should no sooner step out at his doors, than the Indians would kill him; and that, let who will have begun the war, we will continue it until we have the head of Uncas."* Pursuant to this resolution, the

* The evidence was very conclusive, that the Narragansetts were stimulated to this course by Gorton and his associates, who wrote their messages to the Governor of Massachusetts for them. In order more effectually to dissuade Canonicus and Passacus from their purpose, an embassy was sent to them from Boston. But the messengers were not treated with their wonted respect. They kept them for the night in an ordinary lodge, and made "forward speeches" to them. "Their answers were witty, and full to the questions, and their conclu-

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ohegan territory was repeatedly invaded by the Narragansetts during the years 1644 and 1645, in which incursions several of the people of Uncas were slain, and others taken captive. In the last mentioned year, Tantaquesan, the Mohegan Chief who had first arrested Miantonomoh in his attempted flight from the battle of Sachem's Plain, was dangerously and treacherously wounded while asleep in his wigwam. This act was committed by two Narragansetts who had been led thither and introduced into his domicil by some cunning squaws. Tantaquesan being awaked from his sleep by the first blow of the hatchet, which fortunately fell upon his breast instead of his head, he was indebted to his own presence of mind and bravery for his life. Other acts of hostility, both open and secret, were committed; the property of the Mohegans was greatly damaged; their cornfields ravaged; canoes destroyed, &c. &c.,

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sion was that they would soon go to war upon Uncas, but not in such manner as Miantonomoh had done, by a great army, but by sending out parties of thirty or more or less, to catch his men, and keep them from getting a living."—*Winthrop.*

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in addition to all which, another plot was detected for bringing the Mohawks down upon Uucas and his people. This second attempt of the perfidious Narragansetts was stoutly denied by Pessacus, and also by a son of Canonicus, who called upon "the Englishman's God" to witness the truth of his denial. But the historical evidence to the contrary is too strong to be resisted. The Mohawks and the Pocomtock Indians had both been hired to assist in the subjugation of Uncas, and the total destruction of his nation. The Pocomtocks made their preparations, and actually assembled for the purpose, while to the same end the Narragansetts and Nahantics removed their old men, women and children into swamps and fastnesses for their security, and had a force of eight hundred warriors in readiness to join their expected allies.*

In the progress of these troubles, there was

* "The Narragansetts," says Cotton Mather, "hiring the Maquas to assist them in their prosecution against Uncas, were again upon the very point of committing outrages upon the English, too; but a merciful Providence of Heaven overruled it."

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at least one formidable invasion, in which Uncas must have fought at great disadvantage, though with his wonted bravery. The strength of the Narragansetts and Nahantics having been combined against him, he was compelled for a season to confine himself and his warriors to his fort, but from which he was at length drawn by stratagem. A body of only forty Narragansetts having shown themselves before the fort, Uncas incautiously sallied forth in pursuit, until at length he was drawn into an ambuscade of a thousand warriors. A bloody conflict ensued, in the outset of which the Mohegans were discomfitted. The Narragansetts had the use of more firearms than were possessed by the Mohegans, and the latter were compelled to fly a considerable distance within their own territory. Here their numbers must have been greatly increased, inasmuch as they rallied with fresh spirit, and drove the Narragansetts back again in turn. How many were killed in this engagement, on either side, is not known. Thomas Peters,—who visited Uncas at his fort immediately after the battle, in company with John Winthrop, a son of Governor Winthrop

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of Massachusetts,—in a letter to the latter, speaks of dressing seventeen of the wounded Mohegans and leaving plasters to dress the wounds of seventeen more. Peters also speaks of the death of four of Uncas's captains, killed by fire-arms; and Uncas attributed his repulse in the early part of the battle to the use of those weapons against him. It was Peters who dressed the wounds of Tantaquesan, whom the Narragansetts had attempted to assassinate.

These troubles between the two nations continuing, the English were obliged frequently to interpose in favor of Uncas, until at length it was determined to put an end to them by striking a signal blow at the aggressors,—the Narragansetts and Nahantics. At a meeting of the Commisssioners of the United Colonies, held in Boston in June, 1645, they went into a full investigation of the whole controversy. A declaration was put forth, in which the entire history of the quarrel between the Mohegans and Narragansetts was recapitulated; and in view of all the facts of the case, the Commissioners resolved that "it clearly appeared, on weigh-

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ing the premises, that God called the Colonists to war against the enemies of Uncas," for whose safety it was their duty to provide. Messengers, of peace, however, were yet again sent to both the Narragansetts and Mohegans; but the chiefs of the former again declared that they were "determined to have no peace without the head of Uncas." Vigorous efforts were immediately made by the colonists for the invasion of the Narragansett country. Meantime the Narragansett and Nahantic chiefs were again invited to Boston, that another effort for the restoration of peace might be made. Pessacus, and two other Narragansetts, and Ninigret, the Nahantic chief, with a numerous train, complied with the invitation. Finding, on their arrival in Boston, that the English were in earnest, and that some of their forces had already gone against the Indian country, the chiefs, on the 30th of August, 1645, came to the terms of the Commissioners, and signed an agreement of peace, stipulating for a restoration of prisoners to Uncas, and reparation for the damage they had done to the Mohegans in their hostile incursions. They also agreed to pay the

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English two thousand fathoms of wampum, as a reimbursement to the Colonies of the expenses incurred by their warlike demonstrations. Furthermore they were required to leave some of their number as hostages for the faithful performance of the stipulations.

The wampum not being paid by the Narragansetts with the promptitude that was deemed requisite, Pessacus was summoned to appear in Boston for explanations in 1646. This summons not being complied with, it was repeated in the following year, when, under the plea of sickness, Ninigret, the Nahantic chief, was sent in his room—Pessacus protesting against the payment of the whole amount, because, as he alledged, he had signed the treaty under constraint, being "in fear of the army which he saw." Ninigret interposed various pretexts, and resorted to divers subterfuges and evasions, for the purpose of avoiding the payment. The plea advanced was that of poverty, declaring the inability of the Indians to satisfy the demand; but the bearing of the Commissioners was such as to induce him to send back messengers, who procured two hundred fathoms,

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which were received and credited as an instalment. Farther payments were subsequently made at different times; but the whole amount was not received until two years afterward, when its payment was coerced by a military demonstration under Captain Atherton. Although the Captain had no more than twenty soldiers with him, he nevertheless marched boldly to the Court of the chief, and demanded immediate payment. Pessacus had assembled several hundreds of his warriors, by whom he was surrounded when Atherton arrived. He at first refused an interview, and evaded the demand—whereupon Atherton entered his lodge alone, seized the chief by the hair of his head with one hand, and holding a pistol in the other, drew him from the midst of his guards into the circle of his own men, who were without.* Amazed at his dauntless bearing, the residue of the tribute was paid upon the spot, and without the show of resistance.

The venerable Canonicus died in June, 1648, at a very advanced age, leaving the

* Magnalia Christi Americana.

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government of the Narragansetts to Pessacus, upon whom was also detailed the hereditary quarrel with the Mohegans, and especially with Uncas, against whom they still persisted in their murderous designs.* Indeed, a bolder attempt was made upon his life, by assassina-

* It is but just to say of Canonicus, that in his extreme old age, he appears not to have been cognizant of the actions and designs of his nephew, Miantonomoh. "He seems, in his latter days," says Potter, "to have had many gloomy fears and forebodings as to the future fate of his nation, wishing, but yet doubting that the English, whom he had cherished until they had now grown strong, might return to his posterity the kindness he so generously bestowed upon them in their feeble state." Roger Williams speaks of him as "the old high sachem, or wise and peaceful prince," and recites what he terms a "solemn oration" made by Canonicus, in which he expressed his apprehensions as to the good faith of the English and the fate of his people. "If the English speak true, if he mean truly, then shall I goe to my grave in peace, and hope that the English and my posterity shall live in love and peace together." I replied that he had no cause, as I hoped, to question Englishmen's faithfulnesse, he having had long experience of their friendlinesse and trustinesse. He tooke a sticke, and broke it into ten pieces, and related ten instances, (laying down a sticke to every instance,) which gave him cause thus to feare and say."—*Roger Williams's Key.*

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tion, in the following year, than any of the preceding ones. While descending the Thames, or Pequod river, in a vessel, it was boarded by an Indian hired by the Narragansetts and Nahantics to slay him. Taking him thus by surprise, the assassin succeeded in thrusting the chief through the breast with a sword. The wound, though severe, was not mortal; and on his recovery, Uncas again laid his complaints against his assailants before the Commissioners. He likewise complained that the Narragansetts had not fulfilled the stipulations of the treaty made four years previously, in regard to the return of prisoners, the restoration of property, &c. The Indian who had wounded Uncas, declared that he had been employed to perpetrate the act by Ninigret and Pessacus,—the former of whom, being summoned before the Commissioners, endeavoured to make a defence, but it was considered very lame and unsatisfactory.

There were again indications of a general rising among the Indians against the colonies, and Ninigret was inculpated. Some of the Mohawks confessed that they had been

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hired against Uncas. Additional alarm was also caused by the fact that the Pequods who had been living under the government of Uncas, had revolted, and were again clustering together as a nation, under a brother or a son of Sassacus, who was about to marry a daughter of Ninigret. Shortly afterward, it was reported that Ninigret had employed a man to compass the death of Uncas by poison; but the attempt failed, and the man was put to death.* Under all these circumstances, as well for the protection of themselves as for the defence of Uncas, preparations were once more made by the Colonists for the invasion and effectual chastisement of the treacherous authors of these continuous troubles. Ninigret appeared now to be a more formidable leader than Pessacus; but a squadron of cavalry, sent into his country by Massachusetts, under Captain Davis, moved with such spirit and celerity as to create a general panic among chiefs and people, and a pacification was the result, which lasted several years.

The fidelity of Uncas toward the English

* Hubbard, Holmes.

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received a fresh illustration in the year 1645, which had the effect of involving him in difficulty with a strong body of Indians other than the Narragansetts. It was in this year that a complicated piece of treachery was concerted by Sequasson, yet the bitter enemy of Uncas, who had conspired the death, by assassination, of Governors Hopkins and Haynes, and also of Mr. Whiting, one of the magistrates of Connecticut, for the doubly infamous purpose of avenging himself upon those distinguished men, because of their friendship for Uncas, and then of charging the murders upon the latter.* Success in this nefarious plot would not only have deprived the colonists of three of their conscript fathers, but would of course have worked the ruin of the great enemy of the Narragansetts and their confederates. The agent employed for this work of assassination, was an Indian of the Waronoke tribe, living in the district of country now comprised in the town of Westfield, (Mass.) The Indian had already received his price; but his heart failed him in the undertaking. He had seen that an Indian

* Hubbard, Holmes.

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had just been executed at New-Haven for attempting to kill a woman at Stamford, and the hazard of "murdering English Sachems," appeared too great. He therefore not only declined the fulfilment of his contract, but disclosed the conspiracy. Sequasson was thereupon summoned forthwith to appear before the Commissioners of the Colonies at New-Haven; but instead of complying with the order, he took refuge with the Indians at Pocompheake, where Uncas undertook to arrest and bring him in. Being unable to do it by force, he surprised him in the night, captured, and brought him to Hartford, where he was imprisoned for several months. Yet in the end he was released for want of sufficient evidence to justify his execution.* The friends of Sequasson took the matter of his imprisonment in high dudgeon; and being encouraged to hostilities by the Narragansetts, they raised a thousand warriors to go against Uncas, three hundred of whom were armed with muskets, and were only restrained from their purpose by a message from the magis-

*I have followed Trumbull in this relation. Cotton Mather dates it a year later—1646.

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trates of Hartford, that Uncas would be defended by them.

In the year 1648, Uncas again evinced his friendly activity in serving the English. Mr. John Whittemore, of Stamford, a man of repute and a member of the General Court at New-Haven, was murdered by the Indians while seeking for cattle in the woods. An Indian youth, son of a Sachem, carried the news of the murder to the settlers; but the body of the deceased could not be found, neither could the murderers be discovered, although the young Indian himself was suspected as an accomplice.

Two months afterward Uncas repaired to Stamford with a body of his men, and by the aid of the Sachem's son, and another suspected Indian, named Kehoran, discovered the remains of the murdered man, and also elicited satisfactory proofs that they two were, in fact, themselves the murderers. Uncas thereupon seized both, and brought them to the civil authorities; but while preparations were making for their trial, they effected their escape.

In the course of the year 1647, and indeed

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at times during ten years thereafter, Uncas was arraigned before the Commissioners, upon various charges preferred against him by the Narragansetts, and also by the fragment of the Pequods, who had been assigned to him after the subjugation of that nation, in 1637. It appears quite evident that he had treated the remains of this people with undue severity; and they now prayed for the protection of the Colonial Government from his tyrrany. Yet, for the most part, the charges then and afterward preferred, were of a trivial character, and rather vexatious than important. Among other matters it was alledged that his exactions of tribute were oppressive; and that in their games, when the Pequods won of the Mohegans, Uncas countenanced the latter in refusing payment, "carrying it partial to the Mohegans and threatening the Pequods." No great heed was given to these charges by the Commissioners, and others of a like trivial character. But it was not so with all. There was, in some cases, evidence of oppression; and it was clearly proved,—or rather the charge was not denied,—that Uncas had

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taken the wife of Obachickaquid, one of the surviving Pequod chiefs. But it appeared, in extenuation of this offence, that Uncas had not in fact either taken the woman away from her husband, or kept her from him. On the other hand, Obachickaquid had withdrawn himself with other Pequods from the jurisdiction of Uncas, and his wife not choosing to accompany him, had remained behind, and been taken to wife, by Uncas, as was usual among the Indians in cases when a wife desires to depart from her lord. Nevertheless the Commissioners chose not to sanction such a degree of latitude in the conjugal relations, and Uncas was directed to return the Pequod his wife. He was also mulcted in a fine of one hundred fathoms of wampum. The Pequods had prayed to be allowed to withdraw altogether from among the Mohegans. But this proposition was not favorably received by the Commissioners. Still they gave licenses to some of the Pequods to move back to their native territory, yet "to live under the dominion of Uncas." But the carriage of the Chief was not uniformly harsh toward these Pequod remnants.

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In the year 1651, he appeared in their behalf, when they were summoned before the Commissioners to account for the arrearages of the tribute imposed upon them at the close of the war in 1637, and effected a compromise greatly to their satisfaction.

The year 1654 must have been one of great activity for Uncas. He was not only engaged in a controversy with the inhabitants of New London, upon a boundary question,—a controversy so serious as to involve a temporary occupancy of his forts and town by his white assailants, and rendering the interposition of the colonial government necessary to a pacification,—but he had a war upon his hands, with a nation of his own race. According to a memoir of Uncas published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1804, it was during this year that he had a dispute with Arr-ha-mà-met, Sachem of Mussauco, now Simsbury, which brought on hostilities. Uncas sent one of his warriors to burn an out-wigwam belonging to Arr-ha-mà-met, in the night; to kill whatever or whoever might be found alive, and leave such a trail as would be mistak-

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en for the foot-steps of the Mohawks. The orders were executed, and the stratagem was successful; for instead of surmising the real authors of the mischief, Arr-ha-mà-met discovering among other marks some Mohawk weapons that had been purposely dropped, ascribed it to the Mohawks, and went to the north-west in pursuit of them. Meantime Uncas was enabled to prepare his warriors for a regular invasion of Mussauco, which was subdued, and in connection with Podunk, an Indian town farther south, was ever after held tributary by him.* The cause of this stratagem of the Mohegan against the Sachem of Mussauco is not given; and we can only judge of the propriety of the conduct of Uncas from his general character, which, making due allowances for circumstances, seems to have been eminently frank and just.†

* The Podunk Indians, in the time of Philip's war, numbered between two and three hundred men. They went into the contest with Philip, and were never heard of afterward.

† President Dwight in his travels, has fallen into several gross mistakes in regard to this affair with Arr-ha-mà-met. He substitutes the Podunks for the Massau-

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Within the two years next ensuing, the Mohegan Chief appears to have experienced some reverses, for in 1656, he was again involved in active hostilities with the Narragansetts, who, leagued, with several other nations pressed him so hard that the Connecticut colony was obliged once more to send a body of troops to aid in his defence. A temporary peace ensued, at the command of the Commissioners of the United Colonies; —or rather an armistice,—for it could have been no more,—since very shortly afterward, he is found again besieged in his fort upon the bank of the Thames by the implacable Narragansetts. It was in this emergency that an incident occurred which must ever be regarded as important by every inhabitant of the romantic and beautiful town of Norwich. So close and effectual was the prosecution of the siege, that the chief and his

cos; confounds the quarrel stated here in the text with one which Uncas had had ten or twelve years before with Sequasson; makes the quarrel to originate between Tontonimo, sachem of the Podunks, and Sequasson; and to crown all, represents Uncas, in this matter, as espousing the cause, and acting in alliance with Sequasson his bitterest enemy.

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faithful braves were in danger of starvation. The assailants were too numerous to justify a sortie, and the danger of perishing either by famine or the tomahawk was becoming imminent, when Uncas found means of conveying information of his distressed condition to the garrison of the colonial fort at Saybrook. His request for relief was enforced by a caution of the danger that would result to the white settlements, should their friends the Mohegans be cut off. In consequence of this message, Mr. Thomas Leffingwell, an inhabitant of Saybrook,—an ensign in the militia, and a bold enterprising man,—laded a canoe with provisions, and proceeding round into the Thames in the night, succeeded in throwing these necessary supplies into the fort. Finding that the forces of Uncas had been thus relieved, the Narragansetts raised the siege and departed. In consideration of this timely relief, Uncas made a voluntary grant of the lands upon the Yantic and Shetucket rivers now forming the town of Norwich. A more formal deed of conveyance was executed soon afterward by Uncas and his two sons Oneco and Attawanpoad, to Mr. Leffing-

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well, John Mason, the Rev. James Fitch, and their associates, then of Saybrook, who immediately thereafter removed to the new territory, and planted this ever beautiful town.* Nor did the friendship of Uncas and his people for the planters of Norwich end with the transfer of the territory. For many years afterward the most amicable relations were preserved; and in seasons of peril and alarm, the faithful Mohegans were always upon the alert,—giving prompt information of every approach of danger, and even removing their wigwams to the skirts of the town, when it was supposed that their services might be necessary in repelling the dusky invaders instigated to the work of burning and massacre by the terrible Philip of Pokonoket.†

* Soon after the Pequod War, Mason removed from Windsor to Saybrook. He was appointed Major General of all the forces of the colony, and was afterward several years Deputy Governor.

† It is related "that at one time the enemy came so near said town on the Sabbath day, as to view said town from an eminence, and seeing the said Moheag's dwellings, were intimidated, and went off without doing any damage. And further they were of great service in watching and spying. So that it happened that there

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How fitting is it that the daughters of mothers thus protected by the brave and true Mohegans, should rear a memorial to the chief from whose example they were taught their rude lessons of fidelity and valor!

Uncas lived many years after the occurences just related; but as the colonists were at peace with the Indians from the close of the difficulties with the Narragansetts till the breaking out of Philip's war in 1675, his name does not appear in subsequent history in connection with any public event of importance. There is indeed a letter published in the sixth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, dated June 24th, 1675, stating as a report, that Uncas was at that time in communication with Philip, and upon certain conditions had proffered him the support of "all the Indians in the country against the English." But this report was unquestionably without the slightest foundation in truth. Uncas was now very old; and for years previous the cares of the Mohegan

were never but two men killed in said town by the Indian enemies, and one boy carried away captive, who soon was returned by the help of a friendly Indian."

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government are believed to have devolved upon Oneco his son. And besides, the fact is well known, that while the Narragansetts, under Na-nunt-te-noo, or Canonchet, the son of Miantonomoh, and as bloody and, cruel as he was fearless, eagerly espoused the cause of King Philip, the Mohegans held fast to the chain of friendship with the colonists.*

* There was something in the character and bearing of Canonchet, albeit inheriting the pride, and insolence, and hatred toward the English, of his father, that commands our admiration. In March, 1676, he had aided in cutting off Captain Pierce, of the Plymouth colony, with fifty Englishmen and twenty friendly Indians, who were driven into an ambuscade and slain. The chief was afterward surprised somewhere upon the Blackstone river, by Captain Denniston and his party, and an agile Pequod under Denniston, went up and captured him. Although a man "of goodly stature, and of great strength and courage, he made no resistance after being taken." A young man named Robert Stanton, was the first Englishman who approached him. He commenced asking him questions, whereupon "the haughty sachem looking with disdain upon his youthful countenance, replied in broken English, 'You too much child; no understand war; let your captain come; him I will answer.'" His life was offered him on condition of making peace with the English; but he spurned the proposition; nor would he even send one of his coun-

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During the first year of that war, two hundred of the Mohegan braves, led by Oneco, accompanied Major Talcott in his expedition to Brookfield and Northampton. Talcott had but two hundred and fifty white soldiers; yet with these and the Mohegans, aided by the intrepid regicide Goffe, who appeared like a spirit to direct the battle, and vanished like a spirit the moment it was over,—seven hundred Indians were defeated at Hadley, and the town saved. In the following year, 1676, Oneco was engaged with a band of Mohegans, in conjunction with Major Palms, and Captains Denniston, Avery and Stanton, in scouring the Narragansett country.* The consequence of this fidelity of the

sellors to the English upon a pacific message. When informed that he was to be put to death, he said—"I like it well. I shall die before my heart is soft, and before I have spoken a word unworthy of Canonchet!" He was shot by Oneco, and the Indians with him, at Stonington. Hubbard remarks of the refusal of Cononchet to ask for peace, that he "acted therein as if by a Pythagorean metempsychosis some old Roman Ghost had the body of this western Pagan—like Attilius Regulus.

* "Pessacus was killed by a party of Mohawks, in this year (1676,) about thirty miles above Piscataqua, and was buried by order of Major Waldron."—*Potter.*

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Mohegans was, that while the border towns of Massachusetts were ravaged by scores, the darkness of their nights illumined by the blaze of their dwellings, and their streams made to flow in crimsoned torrents, not a drop of English blood was shed upon the soil of Connecticut. The imputation upon Uncas, therefore, of having abetted the cause of Philip, falls to the ground. The circumstances in which he was placed in regard to his then recent revolt from the Pequods, induced him to cultivate the friendship of the English on their first arrival in Connecticut; and the alliance then formed was maintained with unwavering fidelity to the end.

Thus much for the public career of this great Indian benefactor to the Pilgrim Fathers of Connecticut. It was a career full of danger and vicissitude,—remarkable, withal, considering the peculiar and trying circumstances in which he was placed, and the character of the race whence he sprung, for its consistency. It remains to pass in review,—a duty which must be rapidly performed,—a few passages of his life, and to dwell for a short time, upon some of the leading features of his

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character;—in doing which I trust I shall be able to relieve his fame from the dark shades which several historians, moved by prejudice, or writing without due investigation, have cast upon it.

I have just said that the circumstances in which Uncas was placed at the commencement of the colony of Connecticut, induced him rather to court than to avoid an alliance with the strangers. Allied to the formidable sachem of the Pequods,—the warlike Sassacus,—both by parentage and marriage,—the tyranny of that haughty chieftain had provoked his revolt at the head of those clans and dependents of the Pequods who thenceforward constituted the Mohegan nation. From the war attending this revolt he had just emerged on the arrival of the colonists; and was even then perhaps only exercising a doubtful sovereignty, by reason of the hereditary hostility existing between the Pequods and the Narragansetts,—the latter, it is but just to suppose, so far holding the Pequods in check as to restrain Sassacus from directing the whole of his power against his refractory kinsman. There is no evidence of previous, or indeed of

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any friendship between the newly founded dominion of Uncas and the Narragansetts. Hence it was but natural on the arrival of the Anglo-Saxon emigrants, that Uncas should seek to strengthen himself by their alliance, against the positive hostility of the Pequods, and the more than doubtful friendship of the Narragansetts. Nor is it likely that he lacked sagacity to perceive, by the arms, the vigorous frames, and the general bearing of the strangers, that in *their* friendship he would be likely to find a power on which it would be safest to rely in the hour of need.

In regard to the relations between Uncas and Miantonomoh, the latter has been extravagantly lauded for various exalted qualities, and his execution by the former, as has been seen, denounced as an act alike treacherous and cruel. But such cannot be the judgment of impartial history. How treacherous? There is no evidence that they were ever friends,—the chiefs themselves or their people. True, a portion of the Narragansetts marched with Mason and Uncas against the Pequods; but Miantonomoh himself went not with them. Uncas has been condemned in connexon with

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the Pequod war, for bearing arms in alliance with the invaders, against his own race. But ought not Miantonomoh to be held in the same condemnation ? Or rather, was not his conduct the more censurable, inasmuch as he was in every sense a volunteer, in sending his warriors upon that expedition, while Uncas was only prosecuting a war actually existing as between himself and the Pequods ? It is the habit, I know, of the Rhode Island historians, to eulogise the character of Miantonomoh, because of his alledged friendship for the whites. But was he, in fact, ever their friend ? It is readily granted that he was upon the most amicable terms with Roger Williams, and the schismatics Gorton, Randall, Holden, and their associates; and that they were indebted to him and his aged uncle, for the grants of the lands they obtained. Yet may not the fact of his general hostility to the whites, have been the cause of his friendship for those men ? It is known that Canonicus, at the first, was only a friend to the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonists upon compulsion; and may not the friendship of the old chief and Miantonomoh for Williams and Gorton, have arisen from

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the other fact,—important at least in this inquiry,—that those distinguished men were both in a state of banishment,—exiles from Massachusetts and Plymouth,—and consequently not likely to be much more friendly to their persecutors than were the Narragansetts themselves?*

Williams, it is true, after his exile, maintained friendly relations with Winthrop, and other distinguished individuals, his personal friends, and he had acted an important part at the court of Canonicus, in persuading him to engage in the war of extermination against the Pequods. But the circumstances of his banishment were nevertheless not forgotten; while the yet severer treatment experienced at the hands of the Massachusetts government by Gorton, had created feelings of hostility that rankled in his bosom to the last. But, aside from these considerations, and the original hostility of Canonicus to the English, the conspiracies of Miantonomoh had shown that the Narragansetts were

* Winslow, at an early day, spoke in his journal of Canonicus and the Narragansetts as "supposed enemies" of the English.

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not at heart friends of the colonists. The inference, therefore, is entirely warrantable, that the *apparent* friendship of their chiefs for the original planters of Rhode Island arose from their greater *hatred* of the older colonies. In other words, by aiding in the establishment of the colony of Rhode Island, Canonicus and Miantonomoh probably supposed they were acquiring an ally against Massachusetts and Plymouth.* The encomiums that have been

* Mr. Potter, in his history of the Narragansetts,—Rhode Island Hist. Coll. vol. iii.,—assists materially in the illustration of this position. "Roger Williams was obliged," he says, "to flee from Massachusetts on account of his religious creed, and came, in 1636, into the territory of the Narragansetts, who received him with open arms. Williams cultivated the friendship of the Indians, as they had no power wherewith to oppose them in case of war." * * * * "The Colonists and the Narragansetts being thus on the most friendly terms with each other, the enmity felt by the Puritans toward Roger Williams was easily transferred to the Indians who had protected and supported him under his afflictions and persecutions, and both were viewed with equal dislike; they were, one perhaps as much as the other, considered heathen, and looked upon as the enemies of the Lord and his church." Gorton, and his associates, were for a long while in a state of actual hostility with Massachusetts.

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lavished on Miantonomoh for his peculiar affection for his own race, while Uncas has been charged with a lack of patriotism in that respect, find a sufficient answer in the circumstances of his embarking in the Pequod war.

But, I ask again, in what respect was Uncas treacherous to Miantonomoh? Far otherwise was the fact. Almost from the hour of the first battle with the Pequods, Miantonomoh was seeking the life of his Mohegan rival,—stirring up enemies against him in one direction, and stealthily plotting his destruction by assassination in another. In the very battle in which he was so ingloriously conquered, and taken prisoner, he had stolen upon the territory of Uncas in arms, in an hour of peace. And while, during the whole intervening period of six years after the fall of the Pequods, Uncas, with few and trifling exceptions, had been faithful to the stipulations of the tripartite treaty between the Cololonists, the Mohegans and the Narragansetts, Miantonomoh, so far at least as Uncas was concerned, had been false to all. In a word, the whole conduct of Miantonomoh afforded conclusive evidence that while

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he lived, the life of Uncas must have been in imminent peril. Under such circumstances, the laws of civilized man, even, would have fully justified Uncas in taking effectual means for his own personal safety. The marvel is that he did not strike his treacherous antagonist dead when first made a prisoner, or put him at once to the torture, after the manner of their common race. The fact that he did not, shows his generosity; his reference of the case to the decision of the civil authorities and the improved jurisprudence of the colonial governments, proves the good faith with which he observed the stipulations of the treaty, and also illustrates his desire to be governed by the principles of justice; while, in my humble opinion, the manner of his execution, when compared with the usages of his people, in which usages he had been educated, illustrates his humanity. It was indeed charged against Uncas, by the Narragansetts, that the latter had paid him a ransom for his life, and yet that he had perfidiously executed his prisoner, in disregard of the compact. But the charge, though revived some ten years ago in a historical account of Provi-

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dence published in the Massachusetts collections, has no foundation in truth. It was fully investigated by the Commissioners of the Colonies, when first preferred against the Mohegan chief, and most conclusively refuted.* The wampum said to have been

* The only composition of Governor Haynes, of Connecticut, extant, is a letter written by him to Governor Winthrop, in December, 1643, upon the subject of the conduct of Uncas toward Miantonomoh. In regard to the accusation that Uncas had appropriated to his own use goods and wampum intended for the ransom of Miantonomoh, Governor Haynes discredits it entirely. He adds: "This I also know, that Onkus and his brother, with many of their men, were at that place when Myantonimo was committed, myself and Captain Mason then present also. Onkos desired him to speak before us all; and this Myantonimo did then utter and confess, that the Mohegan sachems had dealt nobly with him in sparing his life when they took him, and performing their promise in bringing him to the English, (a thing the like he never knew or heard of, that so great a sachem should be so dealt withal,) although he himself pressed it upon them, again and again, (as they all could witness,) to slay him. But they said no, but you shall be carried to the English; which therefore, should it prove other upon due trial I should marvel much; for his own confession, I should think, goes far in the case." [Mr. Haynes was governor of Massachusetts in 1635, before his removal to Connecticut. His letter

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contributed for his ransom, was all expended by Miantonomoh himself, for the supply of his wants while in confinement at Hartford. There was not even a stipulation for the payment of ransom.

On the whole, therefore, after a careful examination of the case, I am fully persuaded that the execution of Miantonomoh was as just as it certainly was expedient. In regard to the character of Miantonomoh, I am frank to say, that aside from the common attribute of mere animal courage, he possessed not one redeeming quality. The only act of his life deserving especial commendation, was his reported order to those of his warriors who went against the Pequods, to spare the women and children. There was no necessity for this order, since his "braves" mostly ran away before they reached the field of danger. His ambition, perhaps, might have been laudable;—but the chief characteristics

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cited above touches upon several other important points; the disquietude of the Narragansetts; the invitation of the Mohawks against Uncas, the murder of a sachem squaw of Uncas's, &c. &c.]—*See Trumbull MSS.*,—*Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. i., 3*d series.*

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of his disposition were those of dissimulation, blood-thirstiness, and treachery.

Uncas, beyond all question, was a man of great personal courage,—not merely animal courage, for that, as just remarked in connection with the name of Miantonomoh, was common to his race, if not, as a general rule, to the whole family of man. But his courage was of a lofty and chivalrous character. History presents not a nobler instance of courage united with magnanimity, and a humane desire to avoid the unnecessary shedding of blood, than was exhibited by him at the battle ending upon Sachem's Plain, when he stepped boldly in advance of his braves and proposed to Miantonomoh that the war should be decided by themselves, by single combat. The lion-hearted Richard, of England, has been commended by Lord Coke, for his reply to Philip of France, who had proposed that the differences of the two monarchs should be decided by five champions entering the lists upon either side. Richard accepted the offer upon condition that the Kings themselves should be of the number to

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enter the lists. Edward III. in the sixteenth year of his reign, proposed that the controversy between himself and the French King, should be decided by themselves in single combat; and Richard II. of England, having also a controversy with Charles the King of France, respecting the title to the Crown of the latter, for the saving of guiltless Christian blood, and to put an end to a bloody and lingering war, made a like proposition. Upon which Coke remarks that "these and the like offers, proceeded from high courage, and greatness of mind."* The unlettered mind of Uncas had no knowledge of these illustrious examples; but he was moved to the proposition by the same high courage and greatness of soul; and he as richly deserves the meed of praise from the historian, as though he had occupied the throne of the Norman Conqueror, or, instead of a panther's

* In the year 667 before Christ, the Romans and Albans, contending for superiority, agreed to choose three champions, on each part, to decide it. The three Horatii, Roman knights, and the three Curatii, Albans, being selected by their respective countries, engaged in that celebrated combat, which, by the victory of the Horatii, subjected and united Alba to Rome.

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skin, had worn the purple robes of Charlemagne.

The private life of Uncas was probably less exemplary than could be desired, though not deserving of severer condemnation than might have been awarded to his race in general. Gookin denounced him as a drunkard; but love of the fire-waters has ever been the bane of his ill-fated people. Would to heaven that the charge of intemperance could be brought against great men of that people only! He has been charged with tyranny against the conquered Pequods living as his vassals. Other military chieftains, of our own complexion, in later and more enlightened days, who have rendered great services to their country, have been subjected to the same accusation. But he took away the wife of another. Her case was not one of aggravation; nor will I extend the parallel by citing cases of other military chieftains, who could not plead Indian usage in extenuation. Let me not, however, be understood as justifying the moral delinquencies to which I refer. I mean only to assert, that others besides Indians, have had their

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imperfections,—great men,—great patriots,—great benefactors to their country,—statesmen whose names will shine in the pages of history in all time;—and farther, to assert, that in the application of the rules of right and wrong, regard must be had to time and circumstance, and the measure of light and knowledge enjoyed by those upon whose characters we are called to sit in judgment. Tried by a standard thus adjusted, the historians of Uncas have done great wrong to his memory.

It has been predicated of Uncas that he was a bitter enemy to Christianity; and the evidence is strong that he was such, at least until a very late period of his life, and perhaps to the time of his death. But in this respect also, great allowances are to be made in regard to the Indians of New England. In the first place, strange as the fact may appear, notwithstanding the eminent piety, and the burning zeal of the Puritans, the preaching of the Gospel to the Indians was not thought of until many years after the commencement of the plantations, both in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Far from this,

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the poor Indians seem to have been considered as children of Azazel*—heathens past hope,—possibly without souls,—certainly beyond the reach of mercy,—who, like the Amalekites, were to be uprooted and extirpated by the chosen people. Their spiritual condition was therefore entirely neglected for twenty-six years after the landing at Plymouth, until Eliot, the great apostle of the Indians, "whose benevolence," to quote the words of Bancroft, "almost amounted to the inspiration of genius," and whose "uncontrollable charity welled out in a perpetual fountain," commenced his labours of love among them. This was in 1646. But there

* The Hebrew word rendered *scape-goat* in the received version of the Pentateuch. Some think it denotes a horrid precipice over which the goat, on the great fast of the expiation, was thrown headlong. "Witsius, Coccecius, and others," says the learned John Brown, "will have it to signify Satan, to whom they say this goat was abandoned in the wilderness, as a type of Christ led by the Spirit into the desert, to be tempted by the devil; or led by Pilate and the Jews, to have his heel bruised." Be this as it may, the Puritans, in the early days of New-England, were wont to speak of Azazel, as an evil spirit.

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is no evidence that any attempts for the conversion of Uncas to Christianity were made until many long years after the first sermon of Eliot to the Indians at Nonatum—(Newtown). The earliest notices that I have found touching the feelings of Uncas in respect to Christianity, are contained in Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians, in which he recorded a missionary visit of Eliot and himself to Wabquissit, an Indian town lying north of Norwich, upon the Mohegan river, four or five miles within the border of Massachusetts. The record of Gookin is in these words:—"We being at Wabquissit, at the sagamore's wigwam, divers of the principal people that were at home came to us, with whom we spent a good part of the night in prayer, singing psalms, and exhortations. There was a person among them, who sitting mute a great space, at last spoke to this effect: That he was the agent of Uncas, Sachem of Mohegan, who challenged right to, and dominion over, the people of Wabquissit. And, said he, Uncas is not well pleased that the English should pass over Mohegan river, to 'call the Indians to pray to God." This was

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in May, 1674, nearly fifty years after Uncas had become acquainted with the English. The second notice upon the subject is contained in a letter to Mr. Gookin, from the Rev. James Fitch, the first minister in Norwich, and one of its founders. He speaks of having preached to the Indians at Mohegan, where Uncas and his son, and Wanuho, the sachems, "at first carried themselves teachably and tractably." But these sachems soon fell away, and exerted themselves strongly against the propagation of Christianity. This letter is dated in November of the same year, and toward its close Mr. Fitch says,—"At this time Uncas and his sons seem as if they would come on again to attend upon the ministry of the word of God." Still, the good minister doubted his sincerity, questioning whether he was not moved thereto by some sinister objects which he indicates.

But it would seem that long before these efforts were made, either in Connecticut or Massachusetts, the Indians had imbibed strong prejudices against the religion of the colonists; and Massasoit, the father of Phi-

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lip of Pokonoket,—"he who had welcomed the Pilgrims to the soil of New England, and had opened his cabin to shelter the founder of Rhode Island,—had desired to insert in a treaty that the English should never attempt to convert the warriors of his tribe from the religion of their race.'* The Christian system was so far beyond their comprehension that whenever they pondered it, their darkened minds were "in wandering mazes lost." The Indians were themselves struck with the long neglect of the Christians to attempt their conversion. How happened it, they asked, if Christianity is of such importance, that for six and twenty years together, the English had said nothing to them about it? They were perplexed in their own minds at the problems of the Christian Theology, and as often perplexed their teachers by their questions. "What is a spirit?" said the Indians of Massachusetts to their great apostle. "Can the soul be enclosed in iron so that it cannot escape?" "When Christ arose, whence came his soul?" "Shall I know you in heaven?" said an inquiring red

* Bancroft's History of the United States.

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man. "Our little children have not sinned; when they die, whither do they go?" "Do they in Heaven dwell in houses, and what do they do?" "Do they know things done here on earth?" "Why did not God give all men good hearts?" "Since God is all-powerful, why did he not kill the Devil, that made men so bad?" "Doth God know who shall repent and believe, and who not?" An Indian, after twelve or fourteen years instruction, heard a sermon from the words "Save yourselves from this untoward generation." He remarked that in another text the Bible said—"We can do nothing of ourselves."—"How," he asked, "can those be reconciled?"—"You say the word is the sword of the Spirit by which their hearts were pricked: How shall I take and use the sword of the Spirit to prick my heart?"—"What was the sin of Judas, or how did he sin in betraying Christ, seeing it was what God had appointed?" The answer was "Repent, and be baptized:"—"But ye do not suffer us to be baptized, therefore I fear that none of the Indians' sins are forgiven, and my heart is weary with that fear, for it

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is said by Matthew, 'whose sins ye bind on earth are bound in Heaven.' "—"Suppose a man, before he knew God," inquired a convert, "hath had two wives; the first childless, the second bearing him many sweet children, whom he exceedingly loves; which of these two wives is he to put away?"—"Suppose a squaw desert and flee from her husband, and live with another distant Indian, till, hearing the word, she repents and desires to come again to her husband, who remains still unmarried; shall the husband, upon her repentance, receive her again?"*—

* This array of questions has, for the most part, been taken from Bancroft, by whom they were compiled from the Journal of Winthrop, the writings of Roger Williams, of Eliot, and others. John Dunton, a bookseller and copious writer, who travelled in New-England in 1686, speaks of having heard a minister who understood the Indian language preach upon the existence of a God. The Indians appeared well satisfied with his discourse, his account of the creation, &c. "When he had finished, there was an Indian that addressed himself to a sachem who was present, and told him that spirits went up to heaven and down to hell, though our fathers have informed us that they go to the southwest. The sachem asked him whether he had seen some souls go either to heaven or hell. The Indian

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Many other curious questions, evincing the perplexities of their minds, might be cited, but these are sufficient to show the difficulties encountered by the missionaries in teaching the new religion, and by the neophytes in receiving it.

In regard to the case of Uncas, there is reason for doubt as to what was the exact state of his mind, or the amount of his belief in his latter days. It has been seen by the preceding reference to the letter of Mr. Fitch, that some appearances of respect to the Christian ministry were manifested by him in 1674. Yet, two years afterward, an event, regarded as evidently providential, occurred, which revived the hopes of the good minister, as to Uncas's conviction of the truth of

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answered—"The minister hain't seen 'em, and yet he affirms it." "Perhaps so," replied the sachem," but he has books and writings, and one which God himself made, which treats concerning men's souls; and we have none, you know, but must take all upon trust." We left 'em discoursing matters over thus amongst themselves." See also a long catalogue of curious and perplexing questions put by the Indians to their teachers, as recorded by Eliot, Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv., third series.

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Christianity, if not as to his actual conversion. The incident referred to is recorded by Hubbard, on the authority of Mr. Fitch himself. It appears that the summer of 1676 was marked by a very severe drought at Mohegan, and in the circumjacent country. So scorching was the heat that in August the corn was dried up, while the fruit and leaves of the trees fell as if it were autumn. Some of the trees indeed seemed to be actually dead. The Indians felt the drought with intensity, and resorted to the incantations of their conjurors and medicine-men to procure rain. But neither conjurations nor powwows would shake the skies, which continued as of brass, while the earth was heated like iron. In despair of their own invocations they came to Norwich, and besought Mr. Fitch to implore the blessing of rain from the white man's God. Mr. Fitch appointed a day of fasting and prayer for the occasion. The day proved clear; but at the close of the religious services, toward night-fall, some clouds were observed to be darkening the western horizon. The next day being cloudy, Uncas, with a large

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number of Indians, repaired to the house of Mr. Fitch, still lamenting the want of rain. "If God shall send you rain," said the minister, "will you not attribute it to your pow-wows?" "No," replied Uncas, "for we have done our utmost, but all in vain." "If you will declare it before all these Indians," rejoined Mr. Fitch, "you shall see what God will do for us;" remarking, at the same time, the frequent and unfailing reception of rain by the Pilgrims, in answer to fasting and prayer. Uncas thereupon made a speech to the Indians, confessing that if God should now send them rain, it could not be ascribed to their pow-wowing, but must be acknowledged to be an answer to the Englishman's prayer. On that very day the clouds gathered with increasing volume and density; and on the next there was such a copious rain, that their river rose more than two feet in height.

The event was calculated to make a deep impression upon the minds of the Indians; and Mr. Hubbard records that Uncas was so wrought upon thereby that he solemnly confessed the truth of the Christian Religion,

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and the vanity of his own. Whether he died in that belief is unknown. In the year 1679 Uncas and his son Oneco made a grant of six hundred acres of land to the county, for rebuilding the jail. In 1680 the General Court gave its consent that Uncas should deed his lands to Oneco; and there is an instrument in existence, dated in 1682, by virtue of which some relief was granted by the town of Norwich, "TO THEIR OLD FRIEND UNCAS."* This is the last record of him, although tradition says he was yet living four years afterward. He was, however, then a very old man; and it is a source of gratification to those who honor his memory in other respects, to know that the last written passage of his history contains a devout acknowledgment of the Christian's God, and records an act of homage to the Saviour of Man.

Mohegan, the chief town of Uncas, was situated in the section of country now forming the adjoining town of Montville, upon the western side of the river, four miles below Norwich. Upon the crest of a hill, half a mile

* See papers in the Appendix.

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back from the river, are the ruins of what is supposed to have been his citadel. I have been told that in the neighborhood of the citadel, near the water's side, there is a rude recess, environed by rocks, which still retains the name of "THE CHAIR OF UNCAS." The position is said to be excellent as a point of observation, commanding a distant prospect upon the river. Here, according to the traditions of the place, the chief was wont to sit for hours, either for pleasure, or with his eagle gaze to guard against surprise. It is also said that Leffingwell landed the supplies of which I have spoken, which he brought for the chieftain's relief from Saybrook, at this point. Several years ago a gifted son of song,—probably the lamented Brainerd,—wrote a poem upon the tradition of this "chair," which was published in the Connecticut Mirror. The following verses, quoted by Drake, are very spirited and beautiful:—

"The monarch sat on his rocky throne,
Before him the waters lay;
His guards were shapeless columns of stone,
Their lofty helmets with moss o'ergrown,
And their spears of the bracken gray.

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"His lamps were the fickle stars, that beamed
Through the veil of their midnight shroud;
And the reddening flashes that fitfully gleamed
When the distant fires of the war-dance streamed,
Where his foes in frantic revel screamed,
'Neath their canopy of cloud," &c.—

In tracing the history of the man in honor of whose memory we are this day assembled, we have seen that in his character were mingled, with some of the vices of the savage, elements of goodness and of greatness, which, had his lot been cast in another land, where he would have possessed the means that civilization gives of acquiring fame, would have ranked him among the foremost of heroes at least, if not of those great men whose renown far transcends the renown of heroes. In a different hemisphere, and belonging to another race, he might have been at least a Turenne, a Marlborough or a Wellington, if not a Gustavus, a Kosciusko or a Washington. But he was only a red man; and the great powers of mind and noble qualities of heart with which his Maker had endowed him, limited in their action by the narrow boundaries of savage life,

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found room and occasion for such exercise alone as was afforded by the petty but ferocious warfare of tribe against tribe, and for such cultivation only as might be serviceable in the rudest condition of society, where strength, and craft, and courage, are the most available, and therefore the most admired qualities.

Yet we must not forget that while our admiration is justly qualified by this inferior manifestation of great elements, it is equally just to make every allowance for the circumstances which caused that inferiority; and that if we discover much of evil in the character and conduct of the red man, we must also award him higher praise than would be merited by one of our own race, for displays of grandeur in mind or disposition. While we shudder at his ferocity, or pity his limited range of understanding and of knowledge, we must also hold him in greater honor for those exhibitions of generosity, of forbearance and magnanimity, which, as we have seen, were by no means wanting in his career. And there is no derogation from the superiority of our race in the honors that have

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been this day paid to the memory and fame of a red chief and warrior. He was a great man, not only among his people, but among the sons of men. Wise in council, brave in battle, prudent as a ruler, his were the qualities which command admiration in all time and from all people; qualities which a man honors himself by respecting, and to which woman willingly pays the higher tribute of her admiration. I read it in the sparkling eyes and pleased expression of the lovely faces by which I am surrounded; and I will venture to repeat, too, that the memory of Uncas has a peculiar claim upon the fair daughters of Norwich; for, as we have seen, it was by his generosity and good faith that, in its infancy, their native place was saved from rapine and destruction. Perhaps there are, among those whom I have now the honor of addressing, some descendants of Fitch, and Mason, and Leffingwell; and if any such are here, they must surely behold with peculiar satisfaction this late but richly merited award of honors to the name of one in whom their ancestors found so true a friend, so faithful a protector.

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With what emotions, then, might the spirit of Uncas be supposed to look upon this scene, if we could imagine it now hovering around the spot where the body it once animated was laid down for its last and long repose! The spirit of the red man had beheld with anguish the gradual extinction of his race,—the occupation of his forests and his broad hunting-grounds by the dwellings of the pale faces,—the triumph of that civilization which he abhorred, over the wide domain which once owned him for its lord: but the spirit of the hero would rejoice in knowing that his greatness was recognised and honored, and in seeing his renown perpetuated, even by the hated and dreaded white man, in whose advance was written the destiny of the Indian to perish.

And we may imagine, too, that the shades of the extinguished tribes, who once roamed in freedom and dominion over this whole region, are gathered round us at this moment, in dim but close array, watching with eager curiosity the proceedings in which we are engaged. The scowl of hatred is on their dusky brows; the fire of revenge is gleaming in their fixed and angry eyes; the sense of in-

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jury and wrong is burning in their vindictive hearts;—but, mingled with these dark passions there is a grim delight in the honors paid to a great man of their race; and as they gaze upon the stone that bears the name of UNCAS, they feel as if they could almost forgive the detested pale-faces, who so well know how to appreciate and exalt the noble qualities of their brother.

One only stands aloof, with a deeper scowl upon his brow, and a more malignant expression in his half averted eyes. It is Miantonomoh, the rival and the enemy of Uncas—the victim of his justice. Even in the world of spirits the sense of defeat is rankling at his heart, and a keener pang is added to all that he has endured, in the knowledge that the granite which the white man rears is a tribute to the fame of Miantonomoh's Conqueror;—that it tells the glory of him, before whose better fortune the star of Miantonomoh paled —that it bears the name of UNCAS.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

OF THE NEW-ENGLAND INDIANS IN GENERAL.

According to Doctor Jonathan Edwards, the distinguished President of Union College, and son of the yet more distinguished metaphysician of that name, the term *Mohegan* was a corruption, by the Anglo-Americans, of *Muh-he-ka-neew*, the true name of the aborigines to whom it was applied,—the plural of which is *Muh-he-ka-neok*. Doctor Edwards, shortly before his death,—an event which occurred in the year 1801,—wrote a valuable treatise upon the Muh-he-ka-neew language, for which he was well qualified by his early training. Mr. Heckewelder asserts the true name of the Mohegans to be *Mahicanna*. The Dutch called them *Mahickanders:* the English, *Mohiccons, Mohuccans, Muhhekaneew, Schaticooks, River-Indians.* The various clans of these Indians, or rather the fragments of the Mohegans, Narragansetts, &c. &c. were collected together at Stockbridge, in the year 1736, under the care of the Rev. John Sargeant, their former laborious and faithful mis-

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sionary. While his father was residing at Stockbridge, as a missionary to the Muhhekaneok thus gathered there, young Edwards, a child, was at school with the Indian children; and so intimate was his association with them, that he acquired their language with greater accuracy and freedom than his own. He thought in Indian, and spoke in Indian. His father having designed him for a missionary to the aboriginals, he was sent to a settlement of the Six Nations upon the Susquehanna, to acquire their language, which he did. Becoming in subsequent years a thorough classical scholar, he was abundantly qualified to write the treatise upon Indian languages with which, a few years before his decease, in the very prime of his life, he favored the world.

With us, the history of the Muhhekaneok, or Mohegans, commences with the life and exploits of Uncas, as written in the preceding discourse.

It was an observation of the early American writers (says the Editor of the tenth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections), that there was but one principal Indian language throughout all New-England, and even in territories beyond it. This observation is believed to be in accordance with the opinions of the later writers, who have taken a more extended view of the various dialects than was practicable at the first settlement of the country. In support of this fact, reference has been made to the opinions of the Rev. Dr. Edwards, and to the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder; both

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of whom have expressed their agreement in the facts as stated by the old writers, and only differed from each other in this circumstance, that each of them considered the particular dialect with which he happened to be most familiar, as the principal standard or language, and the rest as branches or dialects of it. Dr. Edwards, therefore, spoke of the Mohegan as the principal or fundamental language spoken by all the Indians of New-England; while Mr. Heckewelder, on the other hand, considered the Delaware (more properly the Lenni Lenapé, or, according to the earlier writers, the Lene Lenoppes,) as the common stock of the same dialects; observing that this is the most widely extended language of any of those that are spoken on this side of the Mississippi. It prevails, he adds, in the extensive regions of Canada, from the coast of Labrador to the mouth of Albany River, which falls into the farthermost part of Hudson's Bay, and thence to the Lake of the Woods, which forms the Northwestern boundary of the United States. It appears to be the language of all the Indians of that extensive country, except those of the Iroquois stock, which are by far the least numerous.*

Of course every tribe or nation, as for example, the Pequods, Narragansetts, Pokanokets, the Farm-

* Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. x., second series—copied in part, however, from the very language of Heckewelder.

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ington Indians, &c. &c., had their different dialects; but the language of all was radically the same. So also the language of the Delawares, and all their kindred tribes south to the country of the Choctaws, and west to the Mississippi, and northwest to the Chippewas beyond lake Huron, the Ottawas, Messisaugas, the Algonquins, Winnebagoes, &c. &c. of the same root. The parent stock of all, however, is held, by modern investigators, as I have already remarked, not to have been the Mohegan, but the Delaware,—which people, if the traditions of the Indians are to be received, originally came from the West, and spread themselves over the whole country from the Mississippi to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence.* Of all the dialects, when Edwards wrote, the Chippewa was held by the Indians to be the most perfect and elegant, and was indeed the court language among all the nations, tribes and subdivisions, spreading over the vast territory which the Indians held to have been peopled by the Lenni Lenapé, as the French language is in Europe. The Stockbridge Indians, as already stated, are in fact Muh-

* Heckewelder expresses this opinion; and Mr. Sargeant, a descendant of the ancient missionary to this people, who has himself been much in the Indian service, in a conversation with the author a few years ago, avowed his concurrence in the theory of the learned Moravian, making the Delawares the parent people, and their language of course the parent stock.

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he-ka-neew,—their community having been remodeled, for the most part, from various tribes of the New-England Indians, fleeing before the Anglo-Saxons, and brought together, like the remnants of what are called "The Seven Nations on the Sea-Coast," known at a later day in the State of New-York as the Brotherton Indians, by a common cause, if not calamity. The Choctaw language was totally different from the Mohegan; and the language of the Six Nations, radically different from either and all. North of the Choctaws, after full investigation, Dr. Edwards held that there were in all North America but two original languages—"The Mohegan and that of the Six Nations." Heckewelder, Du Ponceau, and Mr. Gallatin, believing the Lenni Lenapé to be the primitive, would of course classify the Mohegan as a derivative branch.

OF THE NAHANTICS.

It cannot be expected of me, in the few addenda which I propose making to the preceding discourse, to give a particular history of the Mohegans, or of the Narragansetts and Nahantics, subsequent to the death of the first Uncas. Indeed, this prince in fact all but outlived his mortal enemies as a nation;* for, having joined in Philip's war against the colonies, but about two hundred of the Narragansett warriors survived that conflict. The Na-

* "He is alive and well, and may probably live to see all his enemies buried before him."—*Hubbard*—1680.

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hantics, a powerful branch of the Narragansetts, wisely kept aloof from that war, and were not molested. Indeed, after the death of Philip, and the close of the war, the Narragansetts that remained by degrees merged themselves with the Nahantics, and by their own name were in a measure lost; while the Nahantics themselves continued a considerable tribe, governed by the descendants of Ninigret, bearing the same name, for three quarters of a century after the death of Uncas. It was rather remarkable that notwithstanding the relationship between the Nahantics and Narragansetts, and notwithstanding also that Ninigret and Miantonomoh were near relatives, the Nahantics seem rarely to have been involved in the Narragansett war with the Mohegans; while on the other hand Uncas was once at least in alliance with Ninigret in a war against the Indians of Long Island.

This Ninigret died soon after Philip's war, at an advanced age. By one wife he had a daughter, and by another a son, named Ninigret, and two daughters. On the death of old Ninigret, the first mentioned daughter succeeded to the sachemdom, and was inaugurated with all the pomp and ceremony of which the Indians were masters. On her death she was succeeded by her half brother, Ninigret, who, in 1709, according to documents I have discovered among the Johnson manuscripts, made a grant of a large portion of the lands of his people to the colony of Rhode Island—which grant

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gave great trouble to the Indians fifty years afterward. This chief died about the year 1722, leaving two sons, Charles Augustus and George. The former succeeded to the government; but dying soon, left an infant son, who was acknowledged sachem by a portion of the tribe, while another and greater portion adhered to George, his uncle, as being of the pure royal blood. The dispute was encouraged by the white people, who wished to obtain more of their lands, and was ended only by the death of the young chief, when the usurping uncle was acknowledged by all, about the year 1735. He dying, left three children, Thomas, George, and Esther. Thomas succeeded to the "throne" in 1746, being ten years old. It was during his sway that the troubles already referred to arose in regard to their lands. This Thomas Ninigret made farther sales of the Nahantic lands to Rhode Island, which act gave great dissatisfaction to a portion of his people. The malcontents proceeded to depose him; yet, according to the documents forwarded to Sir William Johnson, to whom, as General Superintendent of the Indians, an appeal was made in 1763, a majority of the tribe adhered to the sachem.* His opponents denied that he was their

* A memorial against Thomas Ninigret and his proceedings, which I have found among the Johnson papers, contains the names of fifty-five persons. The counter-memorial, sustaining Ninigret, contains one hundred and fifty-two. Another document among these

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legitimate ruler; in reply to which the memorial to Sir William sets forth "that he was not only the legal heir according to the course of descents, but as one who had the voice of the tribe upon the decease of his father." The memorialists against the sachem set forth that the lands he had sold were necessary for the support of the wives and children of many who had lost their lives in the king's service in the late war—(the old French war of 1754—1761.) In one of their letters to Sir William, in answer to an objection that had been stated, that the Indians had no power to depose a sachem, they say:—"It has always been a custom among us Indians to crown our sachem upon condition of his strictly bearing to the good of the nation, and the advice of his friends; and by breaking any of the laws or customs of the nation, he forfeits his sachemship. In former times sachems have been deposed for breaking the laws and customs of the nation; and we have gone according to the laws and customs of our nation in dethroning this our sachem. As it was in the power of the nation to put him in, we think it is in the power of the same to turn him out." The controversy was continued, and also the correspondence with Sir William, for several years; but the baronet, though evidently inclining to the side of the sachem, con-

papers, is a curious letter addressed to "Mr. Ninigrett," informing him of his deposition, and setting forth the reasons for the act. This paper has the names of one hundred and fifty-six persons.

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tinually declined to interfere; and the Rhode Islanders ultimately obtained the lands. This Ninigret must have been a man of considerable means. In one of his letters to Sir William, in which he certainly made a good case for himself, he speaks of having paid the sum of five hundred pounds sterling to a subordinate chief, when going to the war, for the quit-claim of his land. This money was intended for the support of the warrior's mother in the event of his fall. The Indians, many of them, greatly dissatisfied and discouraged, (according to Potter), emigrated to New York. Ninigret, dying, left a son, also named George, who was killed by the fall of a tree, about two years afterward. But little impression was ever made upon the Narragansetts or Nahantics by the efforts of their Christian teachers, from Roger Williams down. Williams spoke with discouragement upon the subject. When Mayhew requested Ninigret to allow him to preach to his people, the chief bade him "Go and make the English good first." A small remnant of the Nahantics were living in Rhode Island in 1812.

OF THE MOHEGANS.

In regard to the Mohegans, although never engaged in war against the Anglo-Saxons, they, too, in obedience to what seems to be the design of an inscrutable Providence, dooming the entire race to annihilation, have dwindled away to a mere hand-

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ful of souls, the wreck of what they must once have been. We have no data by which to compute what was even their probable strength in the days of Uncas. At the time of his battle with Miantonomoh, he had with him in the field between four and five hundred warriors. From this fact, the writer of a memoir in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, assuming the proportion of warriors to the whole number of the people as three to ten, makes the whole number of the Mohegan population from 1500 to 1700 souls. But that cannot be a just computation. It must be remembered that Uncas was summoned to the war-path on a sudden, and had time to collect only the warriors immediately about him—Mohegans proper, in the chief town. He had, at that time, many subordinate sachems under him. But whatever might have been their entire numbers then, as has uniformly been the case with the Indians brought into contact with the white man, the Mohegans have dwindled rapidly away.

Very early in the last century they were involved in difficulties with the Colonial government, in regard to their lands, and appeals were made by them to the king for redress. "After the death of Uncas," says the Rev. Samuel Peters, "his eldest son, Oneco, became king of Mohegan, who refused to grant any deeds of lands to the colony; whereupon, vexed at his wisdom and honor, they declared him an incestuous son, deposed him, and pro-

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claimed his natural brother, Abimelech, to be Sachem of the Mohegans." I have seen no other authority for this statement; and the unsupported testimony of this reverend historian is not to be received. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence that difficulties respecting their lands did arise during the Sachemship of Oneco, which were not adjusted until many years afterward. It appears that in 1704 Oneco claimed certain lands, his title to which was contested. "The Masons, and others, on this occasion, preferred a complaint to Queen Anne, in favor of the Indians. The Masons claimed the lands purchased by their ancestor, the hero of the Pequod war, in virtue of a deed given to him by Uncas in 1659, while he acted as agent of the colony, and denied the legality of his surrender of them to the colony, in the General Assembly, the next year. They insisted that it respected nothing more than the right of jurisdiction, and that the title to the soil was vested in their family as guardians or overseers of the Mohegans."* The case was kept in agitation nearly seventy years, toward the close of which period the Indians appealed to Sir William Johnson for his assistance. Colonel Joseph Tracy, a descendant of one of the original planters of Norwich, wrote a history of the nature and origin of the dispute to Sir William—too complicated in its details to be easily understood. The result, after several missions to Eng-

* Memoir Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix.

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land, was, that the case was decided by the King in Council, just before the war of the revolution, against the Indians. Their lands were therefore gradually narrowed down to about two thousand eight hundred acres. In 1705 the Mohegans are said to have "consisted of a hundred and fifty warriors, one hundred of whom had been in the actual service of the country that very year."* It also appears that there was about the same number of fighting men in 1725.† In the year 1774 there were one thousand three hundred and sixty-three Indians within the colony of Connecticut, eight hundred and forty-two of whom were within the county of New London. How many of them were Mohegans does not appear. Probably, however, the greater number of them were such, the residue consisting of Nahantics and Pequods.

Until the year 1790 their lands were held in common by the remains of the nation; but in that year they were divided by the legislature to each family, upon a principle of equity. A comfortable school-house was, at the same time, directed to be built by the legislature. The richest man of the tribe, at that time, was John Cooper, who possessed a yoke of oxen and two cows. He was, moreover, their religious teacher. There were then "not more than eighty persons of the tribe remaining; and with all their advantages of improvement in agriculture and other useful knowledge, they were

* Trumbull. † Dr. Stiles's Itinerary.

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then still distinguished by the characteristic indolence, intemperance, and improvidence of Indians."* In the year 1799 a census of all the Mohegan families was taken, and their number was eighty-four persons. I was informed by one of them on the 5th of July, 1842, that their present number is between seventy and eighty; but a recent publication in Norwich states that the number of families now remaining is only thirteen, numbering between sixty and seventy individuals. Their social condition, moreover, has been greatly improved within the last thirty years. They all reside in comfortable dwellings, and some of the families appear to be in a good condition for small farmers. The oldest person now living in the tribe is John Uncas, a Revolutionary pensioner, supposed to be between eighty and ninety. Their secular affairs are managed by an agent appointed by the county court, to whom he is accountable for a just distribution of the avails of their lands. The royal blood is not extinct, and they have yet among them a female of the ancient *regéime*, whom they call their Queen.

"Although," says Mr. Holmes, in the memoir already cited, "several tribes of Indians in the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts had attended to the gospel, and a number of churches had been gathered and maintained among them for nearly a century, yet a very small impression was made

* Letter and Memoir of A. Holmes, Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. ix. First Series.

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upon the Mohegans until about the year 1799; though great pains had before been taken to win them to the gospel." The zealous but erratic Mr. Davenport at that time directed his zeal toward their conversion; and the pains which he took "to incline them to receive instruction" are said to have been eminently blessed. To the converts gained at this time it is supposed Trumbull refers when he says, "some few of the Mohegans have professed Christianity, and been admitted to full communion in the North Church in New-London."

It was about the period referred to above by Holmes and Trumbull, that the celebrated Indian missionary, Samson Occum, began his religious teaching among them. He was a Mohegan himself, born about the year 1723. His parents, like the other Indians, led a wandering life, depending chiefly upon hunting and fishing for subsistence. Not one of them cultivated the land, and all dwelt in wigwams. None of them could read when Occum was a boy. Mr. Jewett, the minister of New-London, was accustomed to preach once a fortnight at Mohegan. One man went among the Indians to teach them to read. During the religious excitement about 1739 and 1740, several ministers visited these Indians, and persuaded them to repair to the neighboring churches. Occum at this period became the subject of religious impressions, and was in distress of mind for six months. He then

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found consolation. From this time he was desirous of becoming the teacher of his tribe. He could read *by spelling*, and in a year or two learned to read the Bible. At the age of 19 he went to the Indian school of Mr. Wheelock of Lebanon, and remained with him four years. He afterward, in 1748, kept a school in New-London; but soon went to Montauk, on Long Island, where he taught a school among the Indians ten or eleven years, at the same time being a religious teacher of the Indians in their own language, and preaching also to the Skenecock or Yenecock Indians, distant thirty miles. During a revival among the Montauks many became Christians. He lived in a house covered with mats, changing his abode twice a year, to be near the planting ground in the summer and the wood in the winter. Among his various toils for subsistence, he was expert with his fish-hook and gun; he bound old books for the East Hampton people, made wooden spoons, stocked guns, and made cedar pails, piggins and churns. He was ordained by the Suffolk Presbytery, August 29, 1759, and was from this time a regular member of the Presbytery.

In 1766 Mr. Wheelock sent him to England with Mr. Whitaker, the minister of Norwich, to promote the interests of Moor's Indian charity-school. He was the first Indian preacher who visited England. The houses in which he preached were thronged. Between Feb. 16, 1766, and July 22, 1767, he preached, in various parts of the kingdom,

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between 300 and 400 sermons. At the solicitation of the Earl of Dartmouth, the king made a donation of about $1000; and in a short time there was collected, in England and Scotland, about $50,000, for the support and enlargement of the Indian School; and it was soon transplanted to Hanover, N. H., and connected with the Dartmouth College.

After his return Occum sometimes resided at Mohegan, and was often employed in missionary labors among distant Indians. In 1786 he removed to Brotherton, in the Oneida country, some twenty-five miles from their principal castle. The Brotherton Indians were, like the Stockbridge, a mixed community, made up of the Muhhekeneok, of various clans, but chiefly from Mohegan, and from Long Island. This Brotherton clan was located in the immediate neighbourhood of those from Stockbridge, to whom the Oneidas had previously assigned "seats" in their country. These last had previously been under the instruction of Mr. Edwards and Mr. Sargeant. Mr. Occum was accompanied by a number of the Mohegans; and other Indians of Connecticut, Long Island, and Rhode Island, removed about the same time. In the last years of his life he resided with the Indians at New Stockbridge, where he died in 1792, aged 69. The funeral sermon on the occasion was preached by the so-long famous missionary among the Six Nations, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland. Upward of 300 Indians attended his funeral. The flattering attentions which he received in England might have

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awakened some emotions of pride, and occasioned some discontent with his previous narrow circumstances. In a few instances he was betrayed into excess and intemperance; but then he humbled himself and reformed. He did not, like many white men, destroy himself with strong drink. Dr. Dwight says, "I heard Mr. Occum twice. His discourses, though not proofs of superior talents, were decent, and his utterance, in some degree, eloquent. His character, at times, labored under some imputations. Yet there is good reason to believe that most, if not all of them, were unfounded; and there is satisfactory evidence that he was a man of piety." *

Another Mohegan Indian, whose talents, life, and character were an honor to his race, was Joseph Johnson, who was born at Mohegan about 1750. He was the son of Capt. Joseph Johnson, who served near Lake George in the French war of 1757, and who was a man of piety. After being educated at Mr. Wheelock's school, at Lebanon, he was sent, at the age of fifteen, as a schoolmaster, to the Six Nations of Indians in New York, and was thus employed two years. Afterward "he wandered up and down in this delusive world." Returning from a whaling voyage, in 1771, he repaired to his farm at Mohegan, and there, in a time of sickness brought on by his vices, became a Chris-

* This account of Occum is chiefly from Allen's Biography.

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tian convert by reading the New Testament and Baxter's Saints' Rest. It would seem, from his journal, which is still preserved, that he experienced the deepest conviction of sin. Afterward he was licensed to preach, and was for years a missionary in the State of New York. Being among the Six Nations in 1776, he received a letter from Washington, dated at Cambridge, Feb. 20th, saying, "Tell them that we don't want them to take up the hatchet for us, except they choose it; we only desire that they will not fight against us. We want that the chain of friendship should always remain bright between our friends of the Six Nations and us. We recommend you to them, and hope, by your spreading the truths of the gospel among them, it will keep the chain bright.' His manuscript journal and sermons display his talents and acquaintance with theology.* He was, if I mistake not, son-in-law to Occum; and some of his love-letters—curious specimens of an amatory correspondence—are yet in existence.

Yet another name is worthy of preservation in this connection, Lucy Tantequiggen,† an Indian, the widow of John T., who died at Mohegan, in June, 1830, aged 97. She was the sister of Sam-

* Allen's Biography.

† This is the orthography of Allen's Biography; but in a manuscript among the Johnson papers, written, beyond doubt, by Samson Occum himself, the name of her husband is written "John Tantuiquechen."

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son Occum, and a descendant, by her mother, from Uncas. She was regarded as a pious woman; in her last days she expressed her willingness to die, that "she might go where she should sin no more." In more modern times, until after the death of Lucy Tantequiggen, but little systematic effort had been made for the religious and social improvement of their Indians. After her death, a Sunday School was opened in her house, where three or four generations of her descendants lived; and this commencement of benevolent effort in behalf of a once powerful race, has been "perseveringly continued among them, by one whose name is now extensively known and honored, but is nowhere regarded with more perfect veneration, than in this scene of her early missionary labors. I refer to Sarah L. Huntington, afterward known as Mrs. Smith, of the Syria mission. She was indefatigable in her personal labors among the Mohegans, and in her well-judged efforts to obtain aid for them from abroad. Through her instrumentality, a church and school house were built by the liberality of individuals; the eloquent appeals from her pen obtained from the Domestic Missionary Society of Connecticut aid in support of a minister; and a share in the appropriations of the general Government for the instruction of the Indians, was secured for the maintenance of a school among them.

The settlement of Rev. Anson Gleason, formerly of the Choctaw mission, as their present pastor

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and teacher, with a female assistant, has proved an epoch in Mohegan history. At that time, one aged woman had been for years the only professor of religion in their settlement. Now the church numbers more than sixty native and white members. Industry and sobriety, those virtues so hard to engraft upon an Indian stock, are putting forth fruits and buds of promise. About twenty children are under daily instruction.

Inscriptions upon the Head Stones in the Uncas Burying Ground.

Among the inscriptions upon the grave-stones in the Uncas Burying Ground, the following have been preserved:—

Here lies the body of Sunseeto,
Own son to Uncas, grandson to Oneco.
Who were the famous Sachems of Mohegan,
But now they are all dead, I think it is Weerheegan.*

The next in date is the inscription of a contemporary, and probably a brother of the preceding; It will be seen that the term "weerheegan" is here repeated in a sense somewhat different from the translation of President Stiles.

"Here lies Sam Uncas, the second and beloved son of his father, John Uncas, who was the grand-

* The meaning of this word, according to Doctor Stiles, is "All is well," or "Good news."

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son of Uncas Grand Sachem. He died July 31st, 1741, in the 28 year of his age.

For beauty, wit—for sterling sense,
For temper mild, for eloquence,
For courage bold, for things waureegan,
He was the glory of Mohegan—
Whose death hath caused great lamentation,
Both to ye English and ye Indian nation."

This epithaph is said to have been written by Colonel, or Doctor Joseph Tracy, to whom I have already had occasion to refer. A writer in Barber's Historical Collections, says Weerheegan signifies costly clothes or household furniture.

In his letter to Sir William Johnson, heretofore quoted, Mr. Tracy speaks of Benjamin Uncas, as a Sachem of doubtful right to the succession. That is, it appears the Indians were not disposed to acknowledge him; and the white people, in the course of the land disputes heretofore noticed, threatened to bring the Mohawks upon them, and destroy them, unless they received the said Benjamin Uncas as their Sachem. The Mohegans were alarmed at the threat, and commenced building a fort for their defence, until, finding that the threat was idle, they desisted from their work, It is probable that Benjamin succeeded in his ambitious designs. At least I judge so from the next inscriptions:

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"Here lies ye body of Pompi Uncas, son of Benjamin and Ann Uncas, and of ye royal blood, who died May ye 1, 1740, in ye 21 year of his age.

Here lies the body of two infant children of Benjamin Uncas, Ivn., and Ann Uncas, of royal blood —died November ye 8, 1738, ye other December the 10th, 1741.

In memory of young Seasar Jonus, who died April 30, 1749, in the 28 year of his age. And he was couzin to Uncas.

In memory of Elizabeth Joquib, the daughter of Mohomet, great grand-children to ye first Uncas, Sachem of Mohegan, who died July the 3, 1756, aged 33.

In memory of Elizabeth Begneck, great grandchild of Uncas Sachem of Mohegan, who died October 20, A. D. 1761, aged 14 years.

The Rev. Dr. John Lathrop, of Boston, about the beginning of the present century, gave Dr. Holmes, the Annalist, some information respecting Jacob Uncas, who had been his, (Lathrop's) pupil while he was an assistant in Dr. Wheelock's Indian Charity School, at Lebanon. The Doctor said he was a fat fellow, of dull intellectual parts, as was his father before him, whom also the Doctor well remembered.

The following interesting account of another of the Uncas family, is from the Auto-biography of the veneral Colonel John Trumbull, published in 1841:—

"About the year 1776 a circumstance occurred, which deserves to be written on adamant. In the wars of New-England with the Aborigines, the Mohegan tribe of Indians early became the friends of the English. Their favorite ground was on the

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banks of the river (now the Thames,) between New London and Norwich. A small remnant of the Mohegans still exist, and they are sacredly protected in the possession of their favorite domain on the banks of the Thames. The government of this tribe had become hereditary in the family of the celebrated Uncas. During the time of my father's mercantile prosperity, he had employed several Indians of this tribe in hunting animals, whose skins were valuable for their fur. Among these hunters was one named Zachary, of the royal race, an excellent hunter, but as drunken and worthless an Indian as ever lived. When he had somewhere passed the age of fifty, several members of the royal family who stood between Zachary and the throne of his tribe, died, and he found himself with only one life between him and the empire. In this moment his better genius resumed its sway, and he reflected seriously. "How can such a drunken wretch as I am aspire to to be the chief of this honorable race? What will my people say? and how will the shades of my noble ancestors look down indignant upon such a base successor? Can I succeed to the great Uncas? I will drink no more!" *He solemnly resolved never again to taste any drink but water, and he kept his resolution.*

I had heard this story and did not entirely believe it; for young as I was, I already partook in the prevailing contempt for Indians. In the beginning of May, the annual election of the principal officers of the (then) colony was held at Hartford, the capital. My father attended officially, and it was customary for the chief of the Mohegans also to attend. Zachary had succeeded to the rule of his tribe. My father's house was situated about midway on the road betwcen Mohegan and Hartford, and the old chief was in the habit of coming

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a few days before the election, and dining with his brother governor. One day the mischievous thought struck me, to try the sincerity of the old man's temperance. The family were seated at dinner, and there was excellent home-brewed beer on the table. I addressed the old chief—"Zachary, this beer is excellent; will you taste it?" The old man dropped his knife and fork—leaned forward with a stern intensity of expression; his black eye sparkling with indignation was fixed fipon me. "John," said he, "you do not know what you are doing. You are serving the devil, boy! Do you know that I am an Indian? I tell you that I am, and that, if I should but taste your beer, I could not stop until I got to rum, and become again the drunken, contemptible wretch your father remembers me to have been. John, while you live, *never again tempt any man to break a good resolution.*"

Socrates never uttered a more valuable precept. Demosthenes could not have given it in more solemn tones of eloquence. I was thunderstruck. My parents were deeply affected. They looked at each other, at me, and at the venerable old Indian, with deep feelings of awe and respect. They afterwards frequently reminded me of the scene, and charged me never to forget it Zachary lived to pass the age of eighty, and sacredly kept his resolution. He lies buried in the royal burial place of his tribe, near the beautiful falls of the Yantic, the western branch of the Thames, in Norwich, on land now occupied by my friend, Calvin Goddard, Esq. I visited the grave of the old chief lately, and repeated to myself his inestimable lesson."

Two other members of the family, Noah and John Uncas, are spoken of by Allen as living in 1800, but I have heard nothing of their career. In

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1826, a descendant of Uncas, named Ezekiel Mazeon, aged twenty-seven, was buried in the royal burying ground. The funeral was attended by the Rev. William Palmer, who made a short and appropriate address to the remnant of the tribe assembled on that occasion. After the funeral rites were over, Mrs. Goddard, the lady of the late Hon. Calvin Goddard, entertained the tribe with a collation.

None but the descendants of the royal family were ever allowed to be interred in this place of burial; and in all their land-sales or gifts to the colonists, the Indians were ever careful to reserve the use of this beautiful spot. Hence in 1661, and also in later years, the records declare that "the Indians are to have the liberty to pass and repass from the Cove, up the hollow, and not to be molested."

UNCAS'S DEED OF NORWICH.

Deed from ONKOS, and his Sons, ONECO and ATTAWANHOOD, Sachems of Mohegan, of a Tract of Land nine miles square, for the settlement of the town of Norwich—Anno Domini 1659.

Know All men that Onkos, Owanecco and Attawanhood, Sachems of Mohegan, have bargained, sold and passed over, and doe by these presents sell and pass over unto the Town and Inhabitants of Norwich, nine miles square of land, lyeing and being at Mohegan and the parts thereunto adjoyning with all ponds, Rivers, woods, quaries, mines, with all Royalties, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging, to them the said Inhabitants of

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Norwich, their heirs and successors forever, the sd lands are to be bounded as followeth, viz., to the southward on the west side of the Great River ye line is to be Gin at the Brooke falling into the head of trading cove, and soe to run west norwest seven miles; from thence the line to run nor northeast nine miles; and on the East side the aforesaid River to the southward, the line is to joyne into the New Lowndon Bounds as it is now laid out, and soe to run east Two miles from the forsed River, and so from thence the line is to Run nor noreast nine miles, and from thence to Run nor norwest nine miles to meet with the western line. In consideration thereof the said Onkos, Owanecco, and Attawanhood, doe acknowledge to have received of the parties aforesaid, the full and just sum of seventy pounds, and doe promise and engage ourselves, heirs and successors to warrant the sd Bargen and sale to the aforesd parties, to their heirs and successors and them to Defend from all claimes and molestation from any whatsoever. In witness whereof wee have hereunto set to our hands this sixth day of June Anno 1659.

ONKOS, mark.

OWANECO, mark.

ATTAWANHOOD, mark.

Witness hereunto,
John Mason.
Thomas Tracy.

This Deed is Recorded in the County Booke August 20th, 1663: as Ateste,

JOHN ALLYN, Sec'y.

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LAST DAYS OF UNCAS.

[Before his death Uncas must have been greatly reduced, both in the extent of his dominions, and in his other property, as the following account bears record :]

Whereas Uncas, Sachem of Mohegan, hath of late made application to the Town of Norwich for some Releife with Reference to a small Tract of Land which fell out to be within the bounds of the Town, on the south Bounds, over the Traiding Cove Brook. This Town, Considering of his Request and of him as an OLD FRIEND, *see Cause to Gratify him* with the said Land as a Gift to him & his heirs forever, and Whereas the sd Uncas doth also Recon upon three pounds yet due to him as arrears of the payment of the purchas of Norwich Township, though there is nothing appearing how the said money is due, neither by written nor any other Evidence—Yet nothwithstanding the Town have Granted his desire as not willing to dissatisfie an OLD FRIEND in such a small matter, and the said Uncas Also Declaring himself to be in some fears Respecting his Posterity, whether they may not be infringed of their Liberty of Fishing and making use of the Rivers & other Royalties by some English; that being the Reason why he Gave place at the first that we should Run the Line of the Two miles on the East side of the Great River, Beginning at the River: We also satisfie him in this writing about it, that he and his successors shall from Time to Time, and at all times have full and free Liberty to make use of the Rivers and ponds, with other Royalties as abovesaid, not debaring Ourselves, and having thus done, we whose names are subscribed being appointed by the Town of Norwich to treat with him the

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said Uncas upon the premises, or any thing Elce that might Conduce to mutual satisfaction, we asked him whether now he was fully satisfied as to the former, so Concerning any thing Elce depending between him and us, and he hath declared himself: as witness by his hand that he is FULLY SATISFIED with us as concerning the premises, so Respecting all our Bounds and boundaries, and particularly Concerning the Running of the Line on the East side of the River, and Concerning the beginning of the said Line at the River, and the end of said Line to a Tree marked near the Dwellinghouse of Robert Allen: Dated at Norwich, September 1st, 1622:

the mark of UNCAS.

Thomas Leffingwell.
William Backus.
John Birchard.
John Tracy.

Entered in Lib^{r} the second folio 1st, Obtober 18th, 1682.

By me, CHRISTOPHER HUNTINGTON, Recorder.

DEED FROM ONECO, SON OF UNCAS, TO THE MOHEGANS.

Knowe All whom it Doth or may Concerne, that i, Oneco, Sach^{m} of Mohegan, have and doe by these presents pass over my righte of all that tracte of land between Newlondon Towne lands and trading Cove Brooke, unto the Moheagen Indians for theire use to plant, that neither i nor my son nor any under him shall at any time make seale of any part thereof, and that the track of land shall be and remaine forever for the use of the Mohegans and myself, and mine to occipy and emprove for our mu-

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tuall advantage for ever, as witness my seale and marke, this the 6th of March, 1693—4.

his

ONECO.

mark.

Seale.

Witness,
THOMAS SLUMAN,
JONATHAN FOWLER.

Signed and acknowledged before me, March the 6th, 1693—4.

JAMES FITCH, Assis't.

MAWHOMOTT.

Att a Generall Court Held at Hartford, October 13th, 1692: This Court upon Request of Owanecoe doe fully approve of those Lands of Uncas, which were by him given to Josiah, who is since deceased, be and belong to Mawhomott for the future, and doe declare that Mawhomott is and ought to be the next Rightfull Sachem of Mowheeg after Owanecoe.

And whereas Owanecoe bath desired that his fathers Lands Recorded to him, may be Confirmed to him and his Son Mawhomott, and that they may not pass it away to any, without it be by the Consent of Capt. Sam'l. Mason, and be acknowledged before him, which this Court allows of.

A true Copy of the Record. Test.

CALEB STANLY, Sec'y.

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OF THE PEQUODS.

It is a remarkable fact, that notwithstanding the pains taken by the early colonists to extirpate the Pequods, or to extinguish their name, a remnant of the race, and the name also, were preserved in their ancient country for more than a century after the enactments directed to that end. Among the Johnson papers, there is a letter to the Baronet, written in 1764, from the town of Lyme, signed by a dozen Pequods, acting probably, as a committee. In a letter to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by William T. Williams, Esq. of Lebanon, dated July, 1832, he says:—"There is a remnant of the Pequods still existing. They live in the town of Groton, and amount to about forty souls, in all, or perhaps a few more, or less, but they have about eleven hundr d acres of poor land reserved to them in Groton, on which they live. They are more mixed than the Mohegans with negro and white blood, yet are a distinct tribe, and still retain a hatred to the Mohegans. A short time since I had an opportunity of seeing most of the tribe together. They are more vicious, and not so decent or good-looking a people as the Mohegans. This, however, may be owing to their being more mixed with other blood. It is very rare that there are any intermarriages with either of the tribes to each other;—they still, so far as circumstances admit, retaining the ancient grudge. The most common family name among them is Meazen. Nearly half of the survivors call hemselves by that name."

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SASSACUS.

Shall no memorial in the land
Remain of Sassacus? Like sand
Beat by the sea, shall every trace
Of the Great Spirit of his race
Be swept away?

Once, on yon mount* the Pequot stood,
And gazed o'er all the world of wood,
Eyed the blue Sound, and scann'd the bays,
Distinct in evening's mellow rays.
Like a green map lay all below,
With glittering veins where rivers flow.
The distance stretched in haze away,
As from his Mount by Mystic bay,
Whence, as the calumet went round,
His eyes could measure all the Sound,
Or in the boundless ocean find
Delight for his untutored mind.
Eastward he turns his glistening eye,
There, where his throne, his people lie,
Lie prostrate—subjects, children, power,
All, all extinguished in an hour.

The heart-wrung savage turns aside—
But no tear stained a Pequot's pride;
The dark hand spread upon his breast,
Only, the wampum grasped, and pressed;
He turned—he stooped—took one last view—
And then, like Regulus, withdrew.
These mountains, rivers, woods and plain,
Ne'er saw the Pequot King again;
Far in the regions of the west,
The Mohawk sent him to his rest.

HILLHOUSE.

* Groton Heights.

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CAPTAIN UNDERHILL,

One of the indomitable heroes of the Pequod War, declared by an early writers to have been one of the chief of the Boston enthusiasts, (see page 46 of the present volume,) seems to have been a very brave man, but his career was remarkable. It appears from a long entry in Governor Winthrop's Journal, in 1640, that Underhill, for many grievous sins, one of which was adultery, had been excommunicated from the church, and banished. After sore and apparently sincere repentance, he had safe conduct from the Governor to come back, and shrive himself, clad like a penitent, before the whole church. He did so, in the most humble, full and penitent manner—weeping so as almost to choke his utterance. He afterward removed to Stamford, Connecticut, and in 1643, was a delegate to the General Court, and an Assistant Justice of the Peace. He had served as a British officer in the Low Countries, in Ireland and in Cadiz. In the year last mentioned he was sent for by the Dutch Governor of New Amsterdam, to command in the war against the Indians, which was closed by the battle at Horse Neck, in 1640. After the war he settled at Flushing, L. I.—Afterward he was a member of Nicholl's's Assembly, at Hempstead, from Oyster Bay, and was subsequently Under-Sheriff for Queens County. He died at Oyster Bay, in 1672.

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OF LYON GARDINER.

The following extract respecting Lyon Gardiner, the builder and first commander of the fort at Saybrook, and the head of the family of Gardiner's Island, is copied from Barber's Historical Collections, in the account given therein of the city of Hartford:—

"The following epitaphs and inscriptions are copied from a monument in the ancient burying-ground in the rear of the Centre Church in the city of Hartford.

"Here lyeth the body of Mr. David Gardiner, of Gardener's Island, deceased July 10, 1689, in the fifty-fovrth year of his age. Well—sick—dead, in one hovres space.

"'Engrave the remembrance of death on mine heart,
When as thov dost see how swiftly hovrs depart.'"

"The above inscription is on a plain slab of red sand stone, a little north of the central part of the yard. David Gardiner, whose death it records, *was the first white child born in Connecticut.* He removed, it appears, with his father, Lyon Gardener, to Gardener's Island, and coming to Hartford, probably on a public business, died suddenly. The stone is placed horizontally on his grave, and having been partly embedded in the earth, the inscription was with some difficulty decyphered. John G. Gardiner, Esq., the present proprietor of Gardiner's

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Island, states that his father erected a monument to the memory of his ancestors on the island, in June, 1806,—on which monument it is stated that Lyon Gardiner died in 1663. 'David, his son, born at Saybrook, April 29, 1636, the first white child born in Connecticut, died 16—. Mary, his wife whom he married at Westminster, (England) died 16—.' It appears by this that the Mr. Gardiner who erected the monument, did not know at what time or at what place his ancestor died. It was at that time supposed by the family,—the monument at Hartford not having been discovered then —that he was buried somewhere on Gardiner's Island. The present Mr. Gardiner, in a letter to Mr. Barber, says :—"We have an old Bible in the house, which belonged to Lyon Gardiner, upon a blank leaf of which the following is written :—

"In the year of our Lord 1635, the 10th day of July, came I, Lyon Gardiner and Mary my wife, from Worden, a town in Holland, where my wife was born, being the daughter of one Diricke Willemson Deureant ;—her mother's name was Hachin, and her aunt, sister of her mother, was the wife of Wouter Leanerdson, an old burgomaster, dwelling in the hostrade, over against the Bruxer, in the Unicorn's head ; her brother's name was Punce Garretson, also an old burgomaster. We came from Worden to London, and from thence to New-England, and dwelt at Saybrook fort four years,—it is at the mouth of Connecticut

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river,—of which I was commander,—and there was born unto me a son, named David, 1635, the 29th of April, the first-born in that place, and 1638 a daughter was born, named Mary, 30th of August;—and then I went to an island of my own, which I had bought and purchased of the Indians, called by them Monchonack, by us the Isle of Wight, and there was born another daughter, named Elizabeth, the 14th of September, 1641,—she being the first child of English parents born there.!"

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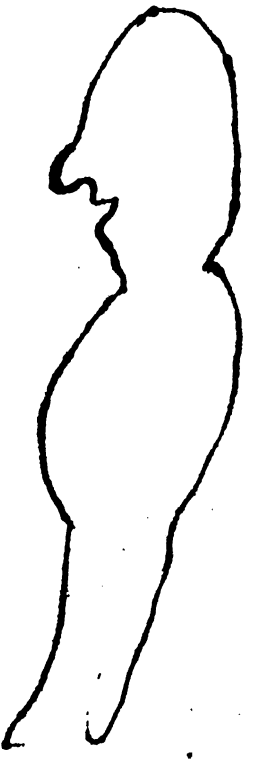

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